[For information on the Hako ceremony, see category 116, pp. 12-277, 279-368. --Analyst]

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[For information on the origin, development and spread of the Ghost Dance ceremony to the various tribes of Western United States, see category 116, pp. 53-59. --Analyst]

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Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. Toward the close of this period the government program called for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them; that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies"; and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence, and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony); he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were "laid by"; the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and difficult. The government was determined to destroy their power over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the

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agency physician. Unfortunately, except in a small part of the cases, the physician was notoriously unsuccessful in combating the diseases which were decimating the tribe; certainly he seemed no more successful than the native medicine man. The physician's services, paid for by government salary, were free to the people who sought his aid, while the native medicine man was paid in property by the patients he cured. Considering the medicine men charlatans and fakers, who deceived and befuddled the people, the officials regarded the customary compensation as extortion. But in spite of official antagonism the tribe was not drawn altogether away from their doctors: the Doctor Dances continued to be demonstrated, constituting practically the only major religious ceremonies which were demonstrated; and as late as 1888 an agent reported that the Pawnee "still have more confidence in their medicine men than the Queen of England has in McKenzie."

From a material standpoint, the close of this period found the Pawnee in a condition of partial adjustment to the new order, and relative prosperity. Most of the people were scattered on their farms, and doing well; they were accumulating stock around them. Between their government funds and their produce the tribe was practically self-sustaining.

In 1890 Grinnell described conditions upon the reservation: "As we came in sight of Black Bear Creek, I was surprised to see what looked like good farm houses dotting the distant bottom. ...Most well-to-do...Pawnees live in houses as good as those of many a New England land owner, and...better than those inhabited by new settlers in the farther West. Many...have considerable farms under fence, a barn, a garden in which vegetables are raised, and a peach orchard... By far the greater number wear civilized clothing, ride in wagons, and send their children to the agency school..."[1]

If their material life was at last approaching peace and security for the handful of Pawnee (759 in 1892) who had survived the long history of disasters, plagues and abuse, to what are we to attribute the revulsion against conditions which expressed itself in 1892 in the Ghost Dance? Before considering this aspect of the history of Pawnee acculturation, which will concern us in the next chapter, let us turn briefly to a recapitulation of the status of Pawnee culture in 1892.

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero-Stories and Folk-Tales, pp. 400—401.

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668 177 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

668 177 ●796 [276 301] "One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly overcome. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow. The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

668 177 The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull. The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among the Caddo and Wichita.

Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank White... joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, [787] the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in [533 539] Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:

we	*rihi*	*irasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come

wetikuwatu *rawahe*

now I long for the {village / region}

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint [114] or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

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we	*rɨhi*	*irasi·ra*	
a	*tsiksu*	*wétatu·ta*	*hi i*
and	{mind / spirit	now I do	

The place whence you come,
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come,
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxki[x]. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours."

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When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change.

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Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna-

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[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

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668 177 794 796 ment. When all were dressed and painted for the dance, White and his singers came out onto the open space east of the sacred tipi, and formed the gathering into a circle. All joined hands, and with White and his singers leading in the songs, they danced round and round. Others rushed over to the dance ground to join in. Many shook and fell. White and his leaders put others into trances, and great excitement prevailed.

In the evening they stopped to eat, and then continued dancing [787] until late at night. From time to time those who fell would get up and tell what they had seen. Each had a message from the other world, and had learned songs. These visions became sanctions not only for special developments of the Ghost Dance, and of the hand games, but also for important revivals of old aspects of Pawnee life, which before this had ceased to function.

One evening all the Pawnee were gathered together where the South Band people lived. White was conducting the ceremonies. It was a fine clear evening, near sunset, with clouds across the sky in the west. The clouds in the sky across the west were like people sitting in a row. White told the people, "Now if you all come out here in the open where there is no timber, you can plainly see the people in the west. Those are the dead people. They are all waiting there. Now you see them. Pretty soon now the high wind will come and all the white people on earth will be blown away. Those (here he referred to Behaile, Dorf Carian, Harry Coons, James Murie, Rice, Pepan—all half breeds), such as they are the wind will pick up too, even if they are half breeds, because they don't believe in this dance. These believe in the white man's church. The wind will throw them against the heavy trees and crush them. The people who believe will be saved, because when the wind blows the white people away, they will all be left standing here. Those who believe will be shaken and fall down, and after they arise and open their eyes there will be no white people here. The buffalo will be here; everything will be just as it was before the white people came, and all our deceased folk, our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers and our grandmothers, will be here with us."

All the people stood and watched these clouds in the west. All the people believed it, except a few. When the clouds were gone they all went home.

One young man lay in a trance all night. White wanted all [788] the people to hear his story, so in the evening of the next day, he ordered all the people onto a hill. There they stood in line facing

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west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier by his side. He said,

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2]

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people," an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games.

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668 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took
177 a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or
794 trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the
796 dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to
[625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit.
[783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is
[786] known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at
668 the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing,
794 he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

[1] Murie op. cit.
[2] Murie, p. 635.
[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

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648 white settlers in among them and on all sides of them. Almost at
657 once a town sprang up near the agency, the present Pawnee.

641 The Pawnee soon found that their legal status had changed; the
648 agent no longer had executive power to control their acts and behavior. The people were now free citizens of the United States. The white people who settled among them and were anxious to do business with a tribe whose income, between their down payment, annuity, and interests, was $ 177,000 in 1893, were quick to tell them so. Then came the lease system for the Indian farm lands. But that is another story. What concerns us here is the effect of this change of status upon the Ghost Dance among the Pawnee.

648 At first, in 1893, the agent believed that by his prompt measures
668 with Frank White the year before, he had stamped out the Ghost
177 Dance. He wrote in his report, July 15, 1893: "This dance has almost disappeared... There is some religious enthusiasm in which they indulge and makes them more tractable and easy to manage, as they say they must do right under all circumstances." The agent felt that the tribe was well satisfied with their allotments, and was prosperous and united.

We, however, can note that this religious enthusiasm was none other than the Ghost Dance, in view of the ethical maxims quoted by the agent, but that from the official standpoint the movement had lost its militancy. By the following year, however, the agent himself was aware that Ghost Dances were being held regularly; that the Indians flouted his loss of authority, which they were now fully cognizant of. From this time forth until the turn of the century, the reports indicate that the agents were doing all in their power by moral suasion to keep the Indians from Ghost Dancing; but the religion continued none the less. At the turn of the century the form in which it flourished was the four-day Ghost Dance hand game ceremony, rather than the Ghost Dance proper.

FORMS OF WHITE'S SOUTH BAND GHOST DANCE

668 When White first brought the Ghost Dance to the Pawnee he
796 organized the dancing simply. He taught some of the songs to a
177 few singers, gathered the people together in a large conical tipi for face-painting, and led the dancing outside this tipi, aided by his singers.

Soon he had organized the dancing more ritually. He selected seven singers, after the pattern initiated by Sitting-Bull among the Caddo and Wichita, and these became a fixed organization for South Band Ghost Dancing. There is some disagreement among

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contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat[a]), Sam Cover (Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry Shooter (Kitkahaxki[x]), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys (Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these "crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership. Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows (see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find what is lost lost beliefs, lost ways of life

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers, and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

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668 796 825 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head. Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 796 [346] [554] [778] [276] For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders") and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers. After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

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late afternoon or in the morning, and the smoke offering differed according to which time of day it was. 668 796

In the arrangement for the time near sundown, the two chiefs carrying the pipes lead the way out of the tipi and all the others follow. Outside, the chiefs stand at the east of the clearing, facing west. Behind them the men form a long flat arc facing west, with White and his seven leaders in the center. The announcer cries out to the people at large that the singing will commence as soon as the smoking is over. 276 [207]

(First Phase[1]) Each of the two chiefs holds the pipe slantwise toward the west, offering it, not by holding it aloft, but by holding it just in front of him. Both proceed simultaneously. After offering the pipe west, each walks clockwise around the clearing, carrying the pipe, and after reaching the same point at the east, stops there, offers a pinch of tobacco upward to heaven, and one westward, placing each on the ground. (Lighting the Pipe) Then each again makes a clockwise circuit, stopping at a point east of northeast, where squatting with the pipe in mouth and its bowl toward the east the pipe is lit by means of a brand which is brought forward by anyone for this purpose. (Second Phase; first mode) Each arises, puffing the pipe, and returns to the east, where facing west, he puffs four times upward to heaven and four times to the west. (Second Phase; third mode) then carries the pipe through a clockwise circuit and takes it to whoever is standing at the extreme northern end of the arc-like row of men. Standing in front of this man the smoker puts the pipe to the man's lips without releasing the bowl. Then the smoker proceeds in turn to allow each man to puff the pipe, moving from north to south down the arc of men. (Third Phase) After all in the line have puffed, the smoker takes the pipe and carries it through a clockwise circuit, coming to the east of the clearing in front of the line of men. Here he faces west, loosens the ashes in the pipe-bowl with a tamper, offering ashes once upward to heaven, then emptying some, and again to the west, emptying the rest of the bowl contents on the ground before him. (Fourth Phase) Holding the empty pipe in his left hand, the smoker touches the right hand to the ashes on the ground, then runs the right hand up the pipe from bowl to mouthpiece while the stem is directed heavenward. He repeats this motion with the left hand, and again with the right and the left, making four motions. Then the smoker makes four similar motions while he directs the pipe toward the west. (Self-Blessing) Holding the pipe, 668 796 782 276

[1] Parenthetical divisions into phases, etc. refer to the analysis of the smoke offering in Chapter 8, see especially pp. 186—207.

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668 782 796 276 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouthpiece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point [533 participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs 535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 782 796 276 823 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made if the dance were to begin in the morning.

If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west, facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat[a] or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

[1] See chapter 8, p. 209.

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his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would be adopted.

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to Tirawahat[2] must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance, and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus, while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

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668 identified with this background. The cross has always been used
796 by the Pawnee as a star symbol. On the ancient star-map of the
177 Pawnee, which was part of the Black Star bundle,[1] all the stars
182 are indicated by small crosses, rather than by dots or five-pointed figures. Hence to a Pawnee it is natural to conceive the cross-scaffold as involving a star-reference. To this scaffold Christ as a holy untainted man who has been honored (the maiden must be virginal and while she lives among the Pawnee is honored) is nailed, with his arms outstretched, as a sacrifice (from the Pawnee viewpoint). With both Christ's crucifixion and the Morning Star Sacrifice Ceremony oriented from the west, there comes about a broadening of the western orientation to include not only the Evening Star ideas of earlier times, but as well the conception of Christ as the Father and Shepherd of the people in the other world, the Chief in the beyond.

The meaning of the final self-blessing is simple and direct. One had offered tobacco and smoke to specific powers, and one concludes by reaffirming one's desire and hope of continued and long contact with the earth, Mother Earth. Thus one presses the body to the ground firmly as a request for long life.

Murie has pointed out that the Pawnee Ghost Dance ceremony as first organized by White, "seems to have been largely original with White and far from identical with the Ghost Dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true Ghost Dance."[2] This reference is to the fact that in the vision pattern suggested by White there were seen by the visionary in order a stream, a tree (usually cedar), the Messiah or Christ himself, then a village of people, and upon approaching the village the people were seen to be dancing, playing games, etc. In addition White brought the undeveloped forms of the Wichita Ghost Dance; there were one day dances, or dances from early afternoon through to the next dawn. White had borrowed the concept of seven leaders for the dance from the Wichita organization as instituted by Sitting-Bull. Murie remarks further, "Some years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct."[2]

The information I have is that Wichita were in part responsible for the changed conception of the dance, inasmuch as visitors from

[1] See Buckstaff, R. N., 279ff., which includes a reproduction of the map. The original is in the Field Museum of Natural History.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

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that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brotherhoods were conceived; the Wichita seem to have brought to the Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank White's death in 1893.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat[a] and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as intermediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair, paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case, to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

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what to do, and received compensation for his instruction. Ordinarily his instruction seems to have amounted to interpretation, to a suggestion that the visionary do as all had seen White himself do, with some explanation of the details. White would also counsel the visionary to tell the people in general what he had seen and learned. But even in such a case, according to reports, when a dance was put on by another, White's seven crow singers had to be invited to lead the singing and dancing, whether it was held among the Skiri or South Bands.

Gifts and money were lavished upon White: a small face painting often earned him five dollars; feathers and sanctions of various kinds brought him other money. Many people were jealous, or resented White's attitude, called him a liar and began to disbelieve him and say he was deceiving the people.

At the same time, White's conduct was not exemplary. It must be remembered that priests, chiefs, medicine men, and in fact all individuals who had claims to sacred office or inspiration in connection with old Pawnee ways of life, lived up to accepted Pawnee ethical standards of conduct.

As one informant describes White's behavior: "All this time White drank peyote, which made him wise. At the same time he used to drink whiskey. Whiskey and peyote do not mix, they cannot go together. That's what killed him.

"One time they were going to have a doctor dance north of town and when they were ready to begin, someone said, 'we can't start until the Messiah comes' - they considered White a great prophet, and called him Father and Messiah. Finally they saw him coming, hardly able to walk, supported on each side by a man holding his arm. Someone said, 'why, he's drunk,' but they whispered around, 'we can't say anything about it anyhow, because he's the Messiah.' They used to lavish gifts upon him, and finally they gave him the prettiest girl in the tribe to marry."

It was not long before revolt against White and his tactics took definite form. This reaction is in part to be explained by White's misbehavior, in part by jealousy of the way in which he was getting rich, and in part also by a sincere desire on the part of some to get more out of the dancing in a religious sense.

According to Joseph Carrion, White and he had been friends for a long time; in fact Frank White at one time married Joe's sister-in-law, which in terms of Pawnee kinship put them on strong grounds of familiarity. Joe Carrion danced along with Frank White for almost a year. In Joe's own words, "Frank White told me that I was going where I could find out something for myself

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about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it.' so he hit the gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing.

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with a Squaw dance afterwards."

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow. He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed.

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things

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796 668 787 177 in it. I saw the sun whirling round, and I saw crows flying around the sun, and flying over me. I saw an eagle feather in the whirling sun. Then I saw a black sun streaked with white inside coming towards me, and as it came I fell over. I stood up and saw a buffalo bull stick his head out of the sun. Just before sundown I saw Jesus standing in the west in the sun with one hand extended toward me.

"Someone came and told me I was wanted in the tent. There Sitting-Bull's nephew[1] spoke to me and told me I had made good. [788] He dropped water into my mouth four times with an eagle feather to cool my thick, dry tongue. Then he told me to take three swallows of water. He gave me sweet corn gruel to eat, and told me not to eat any more that night, but to eat a hearty breakfast in the morning."

At this time the old man questioned Carrion in detail about what he had seen, and Carrion told him about the circle of people, the birds and the man standing with his hand extended as if he were handing Carrion something. This, according to Carrion, the Arapaho interpreted as a gift of the hand game. The circle of people were the players, the man held in his hand the hand game sticks. The crow and eagle feathers belonged to the players, the clusters of feathers to the guessers.

Shortly after this the Pawnee came home. None of the others had visions among the Arapaho, says Carrion, because none of the others went through a four-day fast.

When Joe got home, crowds gathered around and wanted to know what he had found out, and if the Ghost Dance was true. Joe told the Pawnee that Frank White had taken something which did not belong to him and brought it over, and that White couldn't give them blessings and things to use, but that they had to get everything for themselves.

According to Carrion, this message which he brought home from the Arapaho introduced a different perspective into Pawnee Ghost Dancing. Before this people danced, but their experiences in the dancing did not give them sanction to carry out the dancing as leaders on their own account. White taught that only he could sanction them to do anything, and that they must pay him for the right. Now the people tried to find out things for themselves in trance-visions, and they did. It was after this that an extreme

[1] Sitting-Bull's nephew was the leader of this four day hand game among the Arapaho. Apparently he had derived it in trance visions experienced in the Arapaho Ghost-Dancing under the leadership of Sitting-Bull, and his visions had been sanctioned by the interpretations of Sitting-Bull.

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development of visions in which hand games and many similar sanctions were bestowed took place among the Pawnee. Carrion claims to have brought the inspiration for the hand game ceremonies from the Arapaho. With the liberation of the Pawnee Ghost Dance hand games began a rapid development (see part II).

While Carrion and others contend, as is usual in such cases among American Indian groups, that this difference of doctrine between White and the Arapaho indicated a conscious deception on the part of White, it is clear that no explanation of this kind need be invoked. Actually White's doctrine is much closer to generic Pawnee ideology, according to which the independent free vision of the individual is subordinated to a process of learning from one who knows a ritual, ceremony or performance. That is to say, in the older ancient Pawnee activities, the accepted method of obtaining participation was to receive the right or sanction to do so from those who were in charge of that activity, rather than directly from supernatural powers. In contrast to this, Carrion's doctrine looks a great deal like Plains patterns in general, which would be correct for Arapaho Ghost Dancing. It should be remembered in this connection, first, that White did not learn from Arapaho or other Plains tribes directly, but indirectly through the Wichita, whose ideas on these fundamental points are very close to Pawnee ideas, and second, that Carrion was not a Pawnee, although he lived most of his life among them and spoke a fluent Pawnee.

In a general way, also, the pattern of immediately telling the vision to the leaders and securing their interpretation is a non-Pawnee pattern. In older forms, among both Wichita and Pawnee, visions were kept a secret for long, and only in the course of one's life because of one's behavior did the general public of the tribe become aware that one had supernatural experience. In the Ghost Dance doctrine, the visions had to be told at once to show appreciation for receiving them, and one who didn't tell was not supposed to live long thereafter.

It is not possible to date accurately the time of the reorganization of the Pawnee Ghost Dance to accord with the regular four-day dance forms of the southern tribes. I believe Murie has dated it far too late. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri, which initiated the freeing of the Skiri Ghost Dancing from White's control, took place before White's death in 1893. The first forms of Skiri dancing followed White's forms. On his visit to the Arapaho Carrion had observed both Ghost Dances and hand games as four-day ceremonies. Whether this was responsible for a correction

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668 177 114 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon. 668 184 796 Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance. 786 Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight. The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 787 796 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In one way or another the subject was guided to the other world, where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way. There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

668 796 533 The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

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stops at the north facing south; the rest of the circle dance through an equivalent part of the circuit.

3. The leader repeats the song, while the whole circle of dancers moves through another quadrant, the leader finishing at the east, facing west.

4. A third quadrant is similarly completed with the leader at the south facing north.

5. The fourth quadrant is completed when the leader is once more in his original position at the west facing east.

6. All now step back a few paces, widening the circle, and as they sing the circle closes in again. Throughout this singing the leader maintains his orientation at the west, and each dancer his or her relative position in the circle. Now, as the song finishes with the circle narrowed to its original dimensions, all break their handclasps, and shake off the blankets they wear, and the dance is over. The closing in of the circle during this last song signifies the coming together of the people, and the shaking out of the blankets expresses their desire to shake off them the bad ways, the new ways, the white man's ways.

The closing song is the Arapaho song as given by Mooney[1].

FIRST FORMS OF THE SKIRI GHOST DANCE

As we have seen, Frank White brought the Ghost Dance to the South Bands primarily, being himself a Kitkahaxki[s]. When a Skiri wished to hold a dance among the Skiri proper, he was in the same position as any individual among the South Bands who felt he had the right to do so. The Skiri had to get sanction from White, and to invite White and his leaders to come over to initiate and lead the dancing.

After the visit of the five Pawnee to Sitting-Bull, the Arapaho, a change came over the Pawnee attitude toward the general Ghost Dance doctrine. The whole religious movement was liberated from the domination of White. An individual's own conscience and experience was the individual's guide to what he could and could not do, to what sanctions he had obtained supernaturally. It became unnecessary to pay White for rights, and the only checks upon the number of prophets who began to appear among the Pawnee with messages from the deceased were the natural ones: the force of character and the temperament of the claimant; the

[1] Mooney, pp. 1011—1012, no. 73. Note that this song was used as the closing song after the return of the delegation of Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in the fall of 1891.

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792 668 177 reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribes-people, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer; and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so [787] complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments.

668 792 787 Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting. He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

184 668 796 The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

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the smoke offering. Those who had crow or eagle feathers from the Ghost Dance wore them, and usually a group of seven singers led the singing. These were men who knew the Ghost Dance songs. But at first there was no official organization of singers, policemen and the like. Each occasion was organized in the usual patterns, according to immediate needs. The first phase of the organization of Skiri Ghost Dances concerns the official constitution of a fixed group of singers, the Seven Eagle Brothers.

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THE SEVEN EAGLE BROTHERS

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As with many cultural formalizations, the Seven Eagle Brothers were not institutionalized by revolutionary act or decree, but by gradual changes. There were first of all a great many people who considered themselves "eagles" and a great many who considered themselves "crows". Among the Skiri there were in each of these classes men who were gifted as singers and leaders, whose knowledge of the ways of the Ghost Dance had grown through continuous and regular experience and participation. Seven singers were the number usually employed, following White's pattern, and by habitual practice there was general acceptance of certain men as naturally more proficient for the function. In other words the men who were chosen as the official Seven Eagle Brothers were probably seven main singers for the Skiri by custom and practice before the group was institutionalized as a brotherhood.

Knifechief is recalled as the man who first expressed the general attitude toward these seven men. At a hand game he selected them formally to be the main singers. Knifechief went to the place each one occupied in the hand game circle and told him to rise and follow him. Then he led the selected man around a circuit of the fireplace, and seated him in his new position in a row on the south side toward the west. The seven in their order were, according to Ezra Tilden[1]: Sam Cover, Emmett Pierson, Walter Keys (the senior), Tom Yellowhorse, Ezra Tilden, Leadingfox, and Harry Sergeant. These seven, when they were seated in a row on the south side, led the singing for the hand game.

Mrs. Washington was officially responsible for the organization of these seven as the Seven Eagle Brothers of the Skiri Ghost Dance. The first occasion on which Mrs. Washington managed a large Ghost Dance among the Skiri was one which occurred when many Wichita had come to visit the Pawnee; and it said by some

[1] Ezra Tilden and Tom Yellowhorse are the only ones of the seven still living.

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668 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs.
Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with
796 regular singers while the Wichita were present.
533 Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these development, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When
668 they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there,
792 and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance.
796 She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would
787 see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization; the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke, "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced,
527 "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day."
574 This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

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[1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

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for most. Some sat about a while longer, however, and sang Ghost Dance songs.

This introductory or inaugural feast at which a decision is made as to the time for a regular ceremony, is a fundamental Pawnee pattern. Such feasts precede the actual performance of doctor dances and ceremonies, society gatherings and performances, and many other ritual activities. In all such cases the pattern is the same. An individual man or woman "puts up" the feast for the gathering, and obtains as a result certain definite rights of proprietorship over the actual ceremonial occasion which is to follow[1]: This "host" invites leading men such as chiefs to be present, and requests selected ones to come to a decision as to the time for the performance itself.

After this feast-gathering had broken up, the people got ready for the actual dance. Three days were allowed for moving into camp because the people lived scattered over a large area, and had to come in wagons and on horseback. They needed time to arrange things at home so they could be absent for more than a week, to pack, and to come. After all had gathered, at least three more days intervened before the dance proper began, so that the preparation of food, wood, and all other necessary things could be finished. Once it is begun, the dance must not be interrupted by such labors.

Mrs. Washington must be the first to move officially into camp. The chief who finally set the date for the gathering inquired if she was ready, and after she had said yes, and moved her tent, others would begin to follow her into the camping place.

For the dance the tipis and tents were set up in a half circle from south to north around the west. There was no special order of tipis. In the center a space thirty to forty feet in diameter was cleared of grass. Here the dancing began, but as more and more people joined in and the circle of dancers expanded, it would be pushed back beyond the edge of the cleared space onto the grass. The cleared space alone, however, was considered the sacred dancing ground.

One large tipi was set up west of the cleared ground at a distance of thirty feet, its doorway facing east. This was the tent used by the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Washington and other leaders.

[1] Neither vision nor vow is essential in all cases to give an individual the right to "put up" a ritual affair. It is sufficient in most cases among the Pawnee that an individual wants to do so, either because he or she wants to secure thereby whatever benefits in health, luck and prosperity accrue from the performance (and particularly to the one who has "put it up") or because he or she wants to see the ritual demonstrated and learn something about it, or both.

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796 668 782 276 When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could begin.

A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke [301] offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers in an organization.

796 668 554 823 Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing. The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven: the others followed in the order given above, from south to north: this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

796 668 782 823 Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrangement was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven; number 2 to the west (Christ); number 3 to the east (position of the rising sun); and number 4 at the north end of the row of four smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

276 The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186–207.

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mode) He rose puffing the pipe and walked clockwise around the clearing stopping again at the west facing east, where he offered four puffs upward to heaven, and four downward to the earth. (Phase 2; third mode) Then he walked clockwise until he neared the row of men on the east of the clearing, when he went to the man who was at the extreme northern end of the row and offered him the pipe to smoke. This he did without releasing the pipe, holding the bowl in his right hand, the offered pipestem in his left. The man accepting the pipe to smoke merely puts his two hands around the mouthpiece of the pipe and holds it to his lips, drawing a puff. Then the smoke-offerer moved along southward to the second man in the row to whom he offered the pipe to puff, and so on down the row to the extreme south end of it. (Phase 3) The smoker then made a half-circuit clockwise to the west of the clearing, where he tamped the ashes loose (the pipe was now out) and offered ashes twice upward to heaven, emptying some each time on the ground, and again offered some ashes twice downward to the earth, finally depositing the last of the ashes from the bowl on the ground. (Phase 4) Now as he stood at the west, he held the empty pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, touched the ashes on the ground with his right hand, and ran his right hand up the pipe, from bowl to mouthpiece, opening his palm upward and outward toward heaven; he repeated this action with his left hand, holding the pipe in the same position with his right, then repeated it once more with his right hand and once more with his left, making four motions upward to heaven. Then he pointed the mouthpiece of the pipe slightly slantwise downward toward the earth, and made four similar motions toward the earth, each time touching the ashes on the ground before running his hand along the pipestem. He had now finished the smoke offering. (Self-Blessing; return of pipe) He walked with the pipe around the clearing clockwise until he reached a point just in front of the chief at the left (south) of Sam Cover, the Number 1 Brother. He stood in front of this chief, and a little to the south, faced the chief, and made the motions of *self blessing*.[1]

Number 2 smoker (Phase 1) meanwhile made a half circuit clockwise until he reached the west, where he faced *west*, offered tobacco slantwise to the west, and downward to the ground, placing a pinch from the pipe-bowl each time on the ground. (lighting the pipe) came clockwise to the position at the northeast where the pipe is lit. (phase 2; first mode) continued clockwise until he again reached the west, where facing west he then smoked four puffs slantwise to the west and four downward to the ground. (Phase 2; second

[1] See chapter 8, pp. 207—209.

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mode) Then he walked clockwise until he came to the row of men east of the clearing; he offered the lit pipe to the man at the extreme northern end of the row, and to each man in the row southward until he reached the man at the extreme south end of the row. (Phase 3) Then he took the pipe, which was out, clockwise to the west of the clearing, where facing west he offered ashes twice slantwise to the west, and twice to the earth. (Phase 4) He then made four hand-motions to the west and four to the earth, (self-blessing and return of pipe) came clockwise around the clearing until he stood in front of the chief at the right (north) of Harry Sergeant, number seven of the Seven Brothers; here he made the motions of self-blessing, and then returned the empty pipe to this chief, who received it with a blessing.

Number three smoker followed an analogous procedure. The unique character of his smoke appears in the following: the position at which he stopped to make offerings of tobacco (phase 1), offerings of smoke (phase 2: first mode), offerings of ashes (phase 3), and motions of blessing (phase 4), was at the *east* of the clearing, facing *east;* he there held the pipe slantwise to the east, and slantwise downward to the ground, and made offerings to the position of the rising sun and to the earth; he offered his pipe down the row of men from north to south as the others had done. He made the motions of self-blessing in front of the chief to the left (south) of the chief to whom the Number 1 smoker returned the number 1 pipe (that is, the second man to the left or south of Sam Cover, the number 1 Brother) and returned the pipe to this chief.

Number Four smoker proceeded analogously. The place of his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes and motions was at the *south* of the clearing, facing *south*. He returned the pipe to the chief right (north) of the chief to whom the number 2 smoker returned the number 2 pipe (the second man to the right or north of Harry Sergeant, the number seven Brother).

In carrying out these simultaneous offerings there was no collision of the smokers: similar actions, such as offering the pipes to the row of men, were done in the order of the smokers. Before the number one smoker returned to make his self-blessing and give the pipe back to the chief, the number four smoker had completed his offering of the pipe to the men in the line.

After the smokers had all finished, they returned to their places in front of the row of men. Each pipe was now returned to the man who had made a smoke offering with it, and as Sam Cover began to sing a Ghost Dance song, these smokers took the pipes back into the tipi. Inside this main tipi or sacred tent, a covering had been

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spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke-offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

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South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually [533] on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special [554] order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next morning were announced.

The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

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to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially.

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock.

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat."

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. In the center of the space around which the people had gathered, the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock-

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

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668 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which
796 the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the
782 west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase; first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do
796 the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers,
[264 and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served
554] first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large. After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had gone home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the
668 first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to
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be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because she clothed them according to directions which she received in a Ghost Dance vision.

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers. She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet in the back. All the seven were dressed alike.

Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

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PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

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In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words:

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

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in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong. While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work was finished the next day. 159 301

Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers, either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came forward and took one. [237] [283]

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of the Eagles. 668 796

Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes. When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I 668 796 787

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668 stopped. He stood right there in the road. He said, 'Now my girl,
•796 I came to meet you here. I'm the one who told you to come. We
787 are dancing over here. We know you folks are dancing over there and I want you to tell them to have Seven Brothers of the Crows just as well as the Eagles. Now when you go back you can tell them. Sometimes when the Seven Eagles are tired singing, you have to turn over the singing to the Crows to help out. That's why I say you should have Seven Crows. One more thing: When you have the Seven Eagles sing, you must put one woman between each two Eagle brothers, because when they sing the women must sing too. And you must do the same way with the Seven Crows.' I wanted to turn my head to look around, and as I did that, I woke up, and got up."

668 In accordance with this vision, Mark Rudder as the main Crow
796 selected six to join with him as the Seven Crows. Five of the Skiri selected were: John Moses, Jonathan Eustace, George Beaver, Yellowcalf, White Fox. Mark Evarts himself became one of the Seven Crows later, succeeding one man who died.[1]

After that when they held the Ghost Dancing, the Seven Eagles were put on one side (the south), the Seven Crows on the other side (the north). Still later, someone had a trance vision and saw that it should be done the same way in the hand games.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, Mrs. Cover was made the Mother of the Seven Crows by analogy with the Mother of the Seven Brothers organization. Mark Rudder selected her. She was not chosen as the result of a vision, or because she clothed the Crows.[2]

Thus the ground plan arrangements finally became among the Skiri: A central clearing for the dancing; a special Ghost Dance
[346] tipi due west of it; a sacred tipi south of the cleared ground for the Seven Eagle Brothers; and a sacred tipi north of the clearing for the Seven Crow Brothers. Certain alignments of the games were later determined by these orientations (see for example, Boy Chief's game).

[1] John Moses and Mark Evarts are the only ones still living.

[787] [2] A dream of Mrs. Cover's of this general period illustrates certain concepts of the Pawnee Ghost Dance:

"She dreamed she saw Christ standing at the west, facing east. Before him were many little children. At the extreme south was Emmet Pierson and other chiefs, at the extreme north were Mark Evarts, Eaglechief and others. A voice spoke, saying, 'As you see those standing, these are the ones to take care of Christ's children, his people.'"

[622 The Pawnee speak of a chief as a "father" to all his tribespeople, and here
177] this idea has been interwoven with Christian beliefs.

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The smoke offering of the Skiri Ghost-Dance was not altered by this new organization. Only the Seven Eagle Brothers participated directly. The Seven Crows organization was an alternative one, to assist in the singing. After a day of Ghost Dancing, Sam Cover, the leader of the Seven Eagles, might officially turn over to the Seven Crows the singing and leadership of the dancing for the following day. With the Crows leading, the formal positions for beginning and ending the songs and dancing remained the same.

Every day after the dancing, the people gathered outside for the formal food offering and blessing before eating (see above). The chiefs talked. The arrangement outside was the same as that previously described, except that now instead of the Seven Eagle Brothers on the east facing west, the two organizations were seated together, the Seven Eagles south of the mid-point, the Seven Crows just north of it, making a row of fourteen seated side by side.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, the form of Skiri Ghost-Dancing passed through only minor alterations; so far as memory of informants goes, it remained constant—constant at least while the Ghost-Dancing was a serious belief and practise of the Pawnee.

With the alternative organizations of Seven Brothers and Seven Crows for the Ghost-Dance singing, in the event that both groups of singers were tired at the end of a day of dancing, and neither was anxious to take over the leadership the next morning, a custom of playing a hand game to decide who would carry the burden the next day tended to develop. In the central leading tent in the evening, the Ghost Dance leaders and the two organizations ate together, with the Seven Crows on the north side, the Seven Eagles on the south. Here in the talk which accompanied the meal, the members of the two brotherhoods might challenge each other to play a hand game that night. The losers would get up early and begin the dancing; the winners could sleep late.

Each formal occasion of four-days' Ghost-Dancing was in general charge of one man, and was "put up" in the main by one woman. After a woman had offered to put the dance up, the chiefs gathered and selected one man to be in charge. This man's job was to handle all matters which came up during the entire period of dancing, a hard task and a great risk, because whatever happened while the dance was in progress was credited to the one in charge for blame or praise. If there was good luck, people spoke well of him; and if there was bad luck, people agreed it was his fault.[1]

[1] Such responsibility of the leader is true for all Pawnee ceremonial venture. The method of having someone, usually a woman "put up" the

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668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
777 dance was in progress- that was good luck. Tobacco was being
[276 ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke
782] offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout the dancing.

[184] While these developments were taking place among the Skiri, the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White. As members of the organization of seven singers which had been developed by White died, new members were selected to take their places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance forms,
796 states[1]:

[484 "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
346] learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper; for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
533 ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind. Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 636.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

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coming, that there would be a reunion with the departed, that a great change was coming. Others embodied the memory of societies of former days, the gift of paraphernalia, or of hand games. No attempt has been made to transcribe songs for this study; a few representative songs are available from Densmore and Murie. 796 533

Frank White's first Ghost Dance song has already been given. The free rendering: 796 533 539

"The place whence you come
Now I am longing for.

"The place whence you come
Now I am ever-mindful of."

refers to the land of the departed from which a messenger came in White's vision. [787]

A song of Roaming Chief recorded by Densmore from the version of Effie Blane, reports a Ghost Dance trance vision of Roaming Chief.[1] The reference is to the coming of Christ, and the feeling among the people that all was to be well. [177]

ra a *(hi i i a)* *he i ra a* *(hi i i a)*
he comes yonder he comes!

he ra *(i hi i a)* *he ra* *(a e ee)*
he comes! he comes!

heru *(u u)* *kitu* *tixwa̱kíà·hu*
then all they are saying

ri̱hi *weturahe*
here now it is good!

ra a *(hi i)* *i ra a* *(hi i i a)*
he comes yonder he comes

hera *(i)* *hera* *hera*
he comes! he comes! he comes!

He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming!
And so all the people say
All is well here now.
He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming! He is coming!

[1] Densmore, Pawnee Music, song no. 66, p. 92. "A Ghost Dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he 'cried as he sang this

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796 A song recorded by Effie Blane[1] reports a vision of a boy crying
533 for his mother, and asking from the depths of his sorrow, if his
539 mother is really to return to him:

piraski *rawakakawitiku*
boy crying sits down
piraski *rawakakawitiku*
atira *kawe 'rá̰à·hu*[2] *atira kawe rá̰à·hu*
mother is she coming now, mother is she coming now?
tiratpá̰ri *tiratpá̰ri*
here I roam here I roam.

A little boy is sitting crying,
A little boy is sitting crying,
"Is mother coming now?
Is mother coming now?
Here I wander about, here I wander about."

Two songs recorded by Effie Blane[3] refer to the Crow as the messenger from the beyond. One, without Pawnee text, is given in free translation by Densmore as:

"The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers."

The other song is given in full:

ka·ka *tḭ́wa·ku* *ka·ka* *tḭ́wa·ku*
Crow he says crow he says,
wétatù·ta *(tu)* *tátù·ta*
now I do I do
atira *ḭrira·a* *atira* *ḭrira·a*
Mother whence she comes Mother whence she comes
(Moon) (Moon)

The crow is calling, the crow is calling,
"Now I am active, I am active
In the place whence Mother Moon comes, in the place whence Mother Moon comes."

song.' It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game." (p. 91). The song would not be sung to hand game play, but in the Ghost Dance intervals.

[114] [1] Densmore, p. 76, no. 47. The explanation which precedes this song in Densmore's account is misconceived, and may refer to another song; a piraski is a boy up to the age of puberty.

[2] This is not the interrogative used in ordinary speech or in text material. I am thus unable to control the form of the question grammatically, but since the substance of the song calls for an interrogative I leave it as it stands and have translated it in that way. The complex *we rá̰à·hu* would be the declarative form, "now she is coming." G. Weltfish.

[3] Densmore, nos. 50, 51; pp. 79—80.

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The song embodies the relationship of the crow to the Moon from which the bird's power comes, and indicates also that the Moon is the night overseer of things on earth, reporting them in the beyond. The crow is telling the people on earth of the activities in the land of the departed.

The song was based on a Ghost Dance vision of Effie Blane herself. Used at a hand game it was probably not sung to the play of the game.

Several songs reflect the vision of old societies, and their subsequent revival (See Chapter III—Revivals of Societies).

A song recorded by Wichita Blane[1] reports a vision in which Christ gave the Young Dog Dance society pipe (probably) to the visionary:

we ra a (i ya)
now he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (hi a)
See! yonder he comes See! yonder he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (ho hi a)

he tiwerihaktsa
(Emphasis) here now it stick lies!

atias pirau kura (u)
father child his

kuraha·ku[x] *tikuha·ku'*
his own stick he to me stick gives

i ra a
Yonder he comes.

Now he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming.
This stick that is lying here,
The son of the father
His own stick he gave to me.
Yonder he is coming.

A song recorded by Effie Blane belonged to Running Scout and referred (probably) to the revival of the Wolf Society. Of this song, Densmore writes: Running Scout "was very religious and remained in a Ghost Dance trance for several days. His friends

[1] Densmore, no. 59, p. 86.

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796
533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.'
[787] Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had
fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypno-
[237] tizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always
wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
[293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the
back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *ɩrihe we ɩsarit*
so here now stop!
1— "
1— "

2— *kiwaku rirgraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *ɩrihe we ɩsarat*
so here now stop!
1— "

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

"The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather,
That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

[727] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58. [2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68. [4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

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III.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GHOST DANCE

In 1892, as we saw in Chapter I, the United States government program of assimilation had reduced the Pawnee to a cultural impasse. Their old life was gone, and nothing adequate had been given them in its place. The Ghost Dance doctrine which reached the tribe in 1892 brought hope into Pawnee life. It promised the coming of a new and restored Indian earth, on which the white man would be no more, on which the buffalo would roam again, and the Indian peoples live in peace and plenty. According to the prophecy of the doctrine the change was destined, and did not depend on the voluntary intervention of the Indian. Faith in the doctrine and message of the new religion was, however, an essential condition to participation in the benefits of the new order. The activities of the Ghost Dance were modes of converting the unbeliever, and of reinforcing the conviction of the faithful. The first tenet was to dance. The feet of the dancers pounding the earth was symptomatic of the rumblings of the earth which presaged the change. In the beyond, the message declared, they too were dancing, and to dance here in the same way was an augury of the coming reunion. A second tenet prescribed the casting aside of the white man's ways as an expression of faith. To put aside white clothing, white labor, and white customs, was in still another way to participate with the people dancing in the beyond, and to demonstrate concretely one's conviction that these things of the white man's were of the passing present, soon to be swept away. A third tenet concerned the visions and the seeking of them. These visions were moments of intercommunication between those here on earth and their deceased kinsmen in the beyond. To secure them was to prove one's strength of faith. In attaining them one saw the people in the other world alive and well and happy; one saw and foresaw the new earth that was to be. These visions reinforced the tenet which prescribed a casting aside of the white man's ways, for in the land of the departed the old ways of life went on still as they had in former years on earth. To do as one's kinsmen were

[p 105]

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668
787 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs
796 of European culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were
796 the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles,
178 and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle
[756] ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle
[764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

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Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an attempt made to put them in physical order.

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individual had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

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of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[a], the main bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

[a] The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat" band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

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178 796 756 787 a vision. I saw Bear Chief wearing the bear robe over his shoulders and the bear claw neckpiece around his neck. He was painted with yellow earthen clay, and had black streaks from each eye down the face. He said, 'My sister, Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) have not had any smoke for many years. We (dead people) are watching for our people to have the ceremony. The people think the ceremony is lost. It is not, for one of the Bear men who knows the ceremony is still with you. I ask that you tell the people so that they can have the ceremony, for it is time.' I woke up and the last few days have been crying to think that I should be the one to tell you. I have a cow which you can have so you can have the ceremony."[1]

178 756 796 "The leaders of the Bear ceremony each in their turn arose, went to the woman and blessed her... They said, 'My sister, this is very hard. None of us know the ceremony, but Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) will plan a way themselves so we can have the ceremony...

"Some days later the members of the Bear society met and compared their knowledge of the ceremony. When all had spoken a man named Big Star... questioned the others as to their knowledge of the ceremony. He found that none in the meeting knew the ceremony. So he said, 'Brothers, this is hard. You see I am paralyzed, and I could not sit and carry the ceremony out. If you will all agree I will try it. Before we do anything we must select men to be the leaders. You and I know that there are some men here who are descendants of deceased men who were leaders in the Bear Society...' So he selected... Little Warchief... Little Sun..., Good Buffalo..., and Roaming Chief..."

(These men were then ceremonially inducted into office. Big Star then seated himself with these leaders at the altar, and made arrangements to collect among the people the ceremonial utensils, etc. for a set of things needed to carry out the ceremony).

"When all the others had gone out, Big Star told the four men to watch as he carried on the ceremony, that he would carry on the ceremony for them. He also told that Tirawahat[a] had planned through the woman for them to have the ceremony, so he was willing to carry the ceremony on for them without pay; that in olden times men paid to learn the secrets of the Bear ceremony, especially in going after Mother Cedar-tree; that he himself did not purchase the right to carry the ceremony on, but that Bear Chief who was the last man to know the ceremony had given him the

178 756 796 424

[1] Indicating that the one whose vision caused the revival felt obligated at the same time to put up the ceremony.

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right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief.

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony), "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

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These old societies were concerned primarily with war and hunting, and, becoming functionless, had practically ceased their activities by 1892. Each society was controlled by a bundle, from which the powers necessary to the activities of the members were derived, and which in turn derived its powers from greater sources in the major sacred bundles. A full and complete revival of a society would have meant a recreation of the structure of membership, in some cases involving hereditary seating plans, the renewal of the society paraphernalia, the carrying out of the society performances preliminary to regular seasonal activities of its members, and the war path and hunt itself. Some of these societies were entrusted with the policing of the organized hunt. Hence a complete revival could not be accomplished. But a number of societies were reconstructed to a point just short of completion. These were the Horse Society, the Young Dog Dance, the Horn Dance, the Crazy Dog Dance, the Roached Heads, the hatuxka, and possibly the old War Dance. No reconstruction of the membership arrangements was attempted, but led by men who had been connected with a society in former times, leaderships were instituted, singers were taught the old songs, and the dance performances of the society were carried out more or less exactly. Where old paraphernalia was available a renewal ceremony for its physical repair was attempted; while in some cases replicas of the old sacred objects of a society were made. My informants had witnessed regular participations of revival forms of the Horn Dance, Roached Heads, Crazy Dog Dance, Young Dog Dance,[1] Horse Society and old War Dance in the great gathering of bundles for Emmet Pierson's hand game. (See Chapter X). At this game the altars of these societies were arranged generically: each had one or more pipes and drums, and lances and other sacred objects were set out before the altar. The dancing to society songs in the game intervals required that the drum of the society be moved to the regular drum position, the hand game drum being moved aside.

My informants recalled witnessing in the Ghost Dance period, four or five performances of the Crazy Dog Dance, performances of the Horse Society, the Wolf Society, the Roached Heads and the Young Dog Dancers. In Nebraska days, since these societies were for men only, and for masculine functions, such performances could only be participated in by men and by men who were members. The Oklahoma revivals in terms of the Ghost Dance, were on behalf of all the people, and all who wished joined in dancing to

[1] A song recorded by Densmore reports a Ghost Dance vision in which the Young Dog Dance pipe was given. See Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

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178 575 796 the songs, whether specially costumed or not. I am told that on occasion even women were known to join the dancing.

The Crazy Dog Dancers was revived before 1895 by Skiri Tom, one of the survivors of the old organization. The original membership had been practically annihilated in Nebraska days while on the warpath against the Sioux; the misfortune was so great that a few members who survived hesitated to reorganize. Skiri Tom made Charley Box his main singer, with George Beaver to assist him; White Fox was also a singer. Skiri Tom reconstructed objects closely like the old paraphernalia, a crow-feathered dogwood lance, a pipe, drums and rattles. In the revival dance performances, the [292] dancers were not naked, as in former times, although Skiri Tom himself is said to have worn only a loose jock which exposed the genitals from the rear and caused laughter among the women. [577] Nudity in the old days was a sign of recklessness; those who courted death in war could be bold and foolhardy in the dance. Skiri Tom died about 1906 or 1907; his paraphernalia were buried with him, and the performance of the Crazy Dog Dancers ceased with his death. The songs, however, are still used.

The Roached Heads, originally a Skiri society, was revived on behalf of the tribe under the leadership of George Washington; a performance witnessed was held inside Washington's lodge; the north side was in control.

A performance of the Skiri Wolf Society,[1] witnessed by men and women about 1900, was a departure from its original forms. In aboriginal times this society never danced in the villages either before or after the hunt; on the war path itself, the war party leader organized the performance. As a result, and contrary to the forms of the other societies, no women participated as singers at Wolf Society performances, while in 1900 women singers were employed.

Murie has described the revival of the Horn Dance (raris arika).[2] The society was revived in a modernized form in 1893. "It took [787] its form from the dreams of a woman..." In consecutive dreams she was told how to get an eagle skin, to make the crook crow-feathered lance, and the drum. "The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle

[1] The revival may have been led by Running Scout. A song recorded by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 85, reports a vision of Running Scout which probably refers to the Wolf Society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

[2] Murie, Societies, pp. 623, 638.

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feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies was based on old society forms.

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[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

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REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and 526 the moccasin game[3]; for the women, the stick dice game, the plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

668 All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling 178 the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games 524 were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets began to be made again in the old way; such were essential for the hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources, sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: On the one hand such developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

[796 787]

In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported 796 to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living 668 as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an 178 awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer. In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

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of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions.

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1]

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results: "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distribute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot."

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken
796 over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha
797 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki[2]. "About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the
[778 534] hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska took place among the Teawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[3] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat[2].[3]

668 Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee
796 in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how
276 some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4] Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual
[787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

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[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance scenes are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71044, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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V.

PLAY OF THE PAWNEE HAND GAME

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To understand the changes which make up the history of the Pawnee hand game, as considered in this study, it is essential that the skeleton of the game play itself be clearly understood. Only in this way can the ritualization which occurred in ghost dance times be visualized against the old game background. The game itself is interesting on its own account. In actual play it has its own excitements and exhilarations, and the pleasure of winning and annoyance of losing can be readily shared by an outsider who participates for a short time.

The Game Sets: Culin catalogs hand game sets in various museums.[1] The Pawnee and Wichita sets pictured and described by him are all Ghost Dance hand game sets, not sets used for the early gambling game. Pawnee sets always consist of eight sticks used as *tally sticks* with which to keep score, and two special bones or dice, used as *counters* in hiding.

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Sides and Officials: In the playing of the game, two sides oppose each other; any number of players may be joined to either side, even numbers being immaterial. They are definitely immaterial in the Ghost Dance hand games where the affiliation of the individual in the Ghost Dance determines on which side that individual plays. In the old men's gambling game even numbers as regards the players were also immaterial, the visitors or guests always being considerably outnumbered by their hosts; but since in placing wagers individuals bet with individuals, the numbers of those who wagered was the same for both sides. When the boys played and chose sides, the sides were usually more or less even in numbers. The two sides form two halves of a circle, the head end being either at the west or at the north. In all Ghost Dance hand games but one it is at the west; in that one it is at the north. In the old hand game the orientation of the sides was determined by the direction from which the guests or visitors came, with the head end always either west or north. At this head end sit two tallyers, who are the leaders of their respective sides, usually with two

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[1] Culin, p. 276ff.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

It was the belief of the Pawnee that all the members of a band were descended from one ancestor, and that the "sacred bundle" belonging to the band (or village community) was given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings. In addition to the bundles belonging to the several bands there were two bundles which were the property of the entire tribe. Each of the bundles contained one or two ears of corn, called "Mother Corn," which were the most sacred articles in the group. If two ears of corn were used, one was attached to a stick and symbolized the male element, or Morning Star, while the other symbolized the female element, or Evening Star. These ears of corn were shelled and given to the people as seed corn at the first ceremony in the spring. Next in importance were the tobacco-filled skins of hawks and owls, the hawk skin symbolizing a warrior and the owl skin a chief who must always be awake and watchful. Other articles in every bundle were sweet grass for incense, one or more scalps taken from slain enemies, tobacco, paints, and one or more pipe bowls. Some bundles contained other articles, and the skins of birds other than those mentioned.

The bundle belonging to a band was in charge of an hereditary keeper, and as the bundles were inherited in the female line, the owners were always women. When not in use a bundle was wrapped in buffalo hide, tied with a rope of plaited buffalo hair, and hung on the west wall of the lodge above the buffalo skull which was always placed opposite the entrance of the lodge. (Pl. 5, *a*.) The Morning Star bundle and its ceremony will be considered in a subsequent paragraph. The beliefs of the Pawnee differed considerably from those of other tribes using sacred bundles and Dr. G. A. Dorsey considers the village bundles of the Pawnee more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwest Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and central Algonquian.

Elaborate ceremonies were connected with the sacred bundles. The ceremonial year of the Pawnee began with the first thunder in the spring, when the sacred seed corn was given to the people (pl. 7, *a*),[13] and ended with the harvest ceremony, which was followed by a ceremony known as "Making Mother Corn." At this ceremony the ears of corn in all the sacred bundles were renewed from the freshly gathered harvest. Aside from the seasonal observances there were numerous ceremonies whose time of observance was not fixed. All these were in charge of priests and had the welfare of the people as their object. These ceremonies contained a dramatization of some actions attributed to the gods and in practically all there was

[13] The writer acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Simms, Director of the Field Museum of Natural History, in providing this photograph, also those of the sacred bundle and the costumes (pls. 5, *a*; 8).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

778 some form of offering or sacrifice. In addition to these were the
796 ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine men. The
[174] number and elaborateness of the ceremonies show the Pawnee to have been, in the old times, a ceremonial people among whom symbolism was highly developed.[14] Only a portion of this rich ceremonialism is considered in the present work.

276 Peyote is used extensively among the Pawnee at the present time,
533 but the subject was not studied nor its songs recorded. The writer listened to several of the songs, which were simple and appeared to be modern melodies.

[14] Cf. Fletcher, Alice C., The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony. Twenty-second Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, Washington, 1903.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 52-55.

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are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of the song.

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of fire and the song.

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the human race.

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles connected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper.

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an expedition. Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedition, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way. (Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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her into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village until the time for her sacrifice. She was treated in a ceremonial manner but kept in ignorance of her fate. At the appointed time her body was painted, half red and half black, and she was tied to a scaffold and shot through the heart with an arrow. It was said that the braided thong used to bind the girl to the scaffold is now in the Morning Star bundle.

Tradition states that on one occasion the intended victim was rescued. On the night preceding her execution she was seated beside some tall sunflowers. A young chief came through the tall weeds and stole her away, putting her on his horse and taking her to Fort Leavenworth, whence she was returned to her own people. She died within three months, having been anointed for death with the sacred ointment of red paint powder and buffalo fat. This occurred about the year 1818. The man who rescued the intended victim was a warrior of distinction and through his influence the custom was discontinued. The ritual of the sacrifice is still rendered but no actual sacrifice has taken place since that date.

Coming Sun, who sings the ceremonial songs, said that sometimes, during the Morning Star ceremony he stops and says "Listen," and the people hear a woman's voice singing the songs above his head.

The Morning Star ceremony was held by the Skidi Band near Pawnee, Okla., on April 17, 1920. This ceremony formerly lasted four days and nights, ending when the morning star appeared in the east, but at the present time it is concluded in one day. On this occasion the writer had the honor of entering the lodge, through the courtesy of Coming Sun. It is said that only one other white person, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, has entered the lodge during the ceremony and seen the contents of the sacred bundle.

The ceremony was held in a tipi erected for the occasion in a quiet spot near the house of the keeper of the bundle, north of Pawnee. This tipi had been used in the Ghost dance and was decorated with Ghost dance symbols. (Pl. 5, *b*.) The adjacent landscape is shown in Plate 3, *c*. The ceremony began at about 9 a. m. and continued until 4 p. m., the writer sitting outside the tipi except for the brief time she was permitted to enter. Thus the entire songs of the ceremony were heard, as well as the prayers and rituals, though only the principal song was obtained. At the proper time Coming Sun, who was in charge of the ceremony, sent a messenger to summon the writer and she entered the lodge, passing to the right and standing near the bundle, before which she laid gifts of calico, tobacco, and money. Coming Sun was seated back of the bundle, directly opposite the entrance, and held one of the sacred gourd rattles. Two men at either side of him held similar rattles. In front of the men at Coming Sun's left and next the sacred bundle was a belt decorated

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with human scalps, a coiled thong of braided hide and a bundle of "song-sticks." At the right of the bundle were four owls. The outer wrapping of the bundle is of buffalo hide and this was spread on the ground. On this was a wolf hide, and on the wolf hide lay a pipe, the "Cheyenne arrow," and wildcat paws filled with native tobacco. Between the wolf skin and the fire was a decorated ear of corn fastened to a stick which was stuck in the ground, the tip inclined toward the sacred bundle. This was "Mother Corn" and the decoration consisted of dark lines partly down its length and a white feather and dark streamer at its tip. It is said that the paws of the wildcat are selected to hold the tobacco because the animal is spotted like the star-strewn heavens, and that for the same reason the skin of the wildcat is often used as a wrapping for infants. In accepting the gifts offered by the writer, Coming Sun stroked her arm, accepting them in the prescribed ceremonial manner. She then left the lodge as she had entered, avoiding the space between the bundle and the fire. About 20 men were in the ceremonial lodge. They wore no clothing above the waist and their bodies were smeared with the "sacred paint" made of red paint powder mixed with buffalo fat and kept in the sacred bundle. A large fire was kept burning in the middle of the lodge, although the day was intensely hot.

The woman who kept the bundle prepared the feast that was served early in the afternoon, bringing for the purpose an armful of wooden bowls and a quantity of horn spoons of various sizes strung on a hide thong. The feast consisted chiefly of dried meat, boiled in the usual manner.

The tradition concerning the "Cheyenne arrow" in the Morning Star bundle is as follows: The Skidi were once on a buffalo hunt and were camped in the usual order, the tipis containing the Evening Star bundle and the Skull bundle being on the west side of the circle and that containing the Morning Star bundle being on the east side. The Cheyenne attacked the camp and Big Eagle, who was in charge of the Morning Star bundle, went out to fight. He did not, however, forget his duties, and before going to fight he told the people to close the tipi in which the bundle was kept. He fought well and captured four Cheyenne arrows, one white, one red, one yellow, and one black. The people believed he did this by the power of the Morning Star and the arrows were accordingly placed in the bundle. Afterwards the Cheyenne recovered two arrows by treachery, and another tribe secured one arrow, but the principal arrow is still in the bundle. It is black and has a flint tip. The shaft is of heavy wood, said to have been obtained in Arizona. It is said that the longer the arrow is kept the straighter and heavier it becomes.[16]

[16] Cf. Dorsey, George A., "How the Pawnee captured the Cheyenne medicine arrows," Amer. Anthrop., n. s. vol. v, pp. 644-658, Lancaster, 1903.

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BUFFALO DANCE

796 The ceremony of Painting the Buffalo Skull is held every spring by the Chaui Band of Pawnee and is in charge of Mr. Stacy Matlock, a prominent member of that band. The closing events of the ceremony are the Buffalo and Lance dances, which were witnessed by the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Matlock, no other [346] white person being present. The ceremony and dances were held in a large earth lodge, several miles south of the town of Pawnee. (Pl. 6, *a*, *b*, *c*.) The opening of the lodge was toward the east. At some distance was a framework, probably that of a sweat lodge. (Pl. 7, *b*.) Only members of the Buffalo Society were admitted to [778] the painting of the skull, but during the Buffalo dance the skull, painted a few days previously, lay on a folded blanket in front of the "altar" which was opposite the entrance. This occasion and the Lance dance held a few days later afforded exceptional opportunities to listen to Pawnee songs, but the semidarkness of the lodge and the solemnity of the occasion precluded the taking of notes upon either the music or the details of the ceremonial dances.

[424] The chief singer at both of these dances was Wicita Blain, a blind man who received the songs by inheritance. He led the songs 796 which were sung at a certain position back of the altar. At a later 115 time he recorded the ceremonial songs here presented, also certain songs of the Bear dance, which is held in equally high esteem by the Pawnee. John Luwak, chief of the Chaui Band, was prominent at the Lance dance and later recorded numerous songs, including those of the Crow Lance Society. (Pl. 2, *a*.)

*533 The following song was led by Mr. Blain at the Buffalo dance 173 attended by the writer and is a very old song concerning Mrs. Blain's uncle, whose name was Naru'dapadi. A great herd of buffalo came to the place where the Indians were encamped and threatened the destruction of the village. Her uncle rode toward them, shouting and firing his gun in an attempt to divert them from their course, but he was caught in the herd. There were buffalo on all sides of him as the herd swept through the camp and across a stream, carrying him with them.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth. These are the tones omitted in the fourth 5-toned scale which is major while the present song is minor in tonality. It is interesting to note that 25 per cent of the intervals are fourths. This interval, in songs of other tribes, has been found to characterize songs associated with motion or connected with animals. The most frequent interval is the whole tone. This song has a compass of 11 tones and contains the fourth below the final tone. Table 4 shows that the final tone is the lowest tone in a majority of the Indian songs under analysis.

3:1 Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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*533

FREE TRANSLATION

He said, unreal the buffalo is standing,
These are his sayings,
Unreal the buffalo is standing,
Unreal he stands in the open space,
Unreal he is standing.

LANCE DANCE

796 *533 [HM] At a certain point in the Lance dance witnessed by the writer the decorated lances were carried around the lodge and the following song was sung. This constituted one of the most impressive portions of the ceremony. The song is very old and belonged to a woman who had two sons, the song being sung whenever they danced. The woman lived to be so old that she could not stand erect but she "was always singing this song while she was cooking or working." The words mean "Father, the band of the dead is coming." The woman who recorded the song was blind.

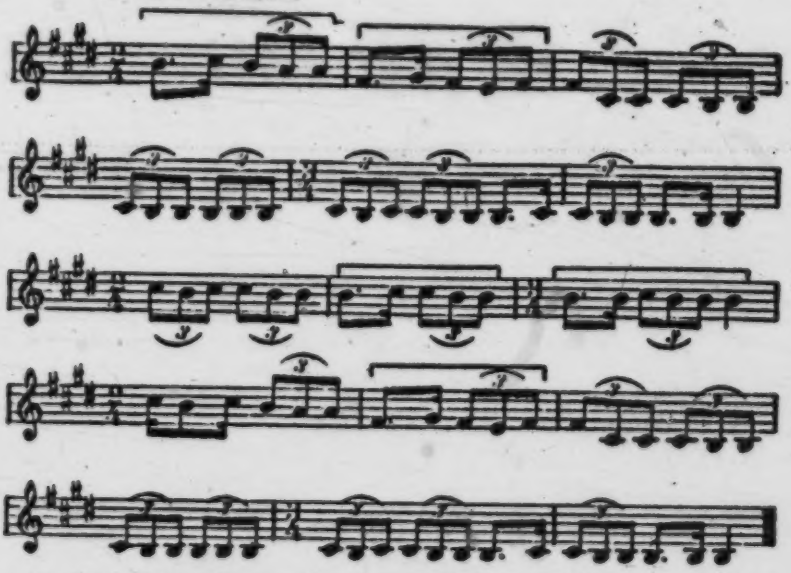
No. 10. "The Band of the Dead Is Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1001)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

*533

Voice ♩ = 63
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—Exactness in the repetition of an Indian song is shown in the renditions of this melody. Eight renditions were recorded without a break in the time except that the final tone was sometimes prolonged to the value of three quarter notes. In each rendition the

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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Analysis.—Four renditions of this song were recorded without a break in the time. This is interesting because of the 7–8 measures which were always sung in correct time. The transcription is from the first rendition. The only differences were that in the later renditions the seventh measure was omitted and the first tone in the next to the last measure was sung as C instead of E. Such differences are slight but are important to observe in a study of Indian music. The keynote is more prominent in this song than in a majority of the songs under analysis, this tone occurring in every measure except the first. Nine of the 32 intervals are fourths, which is an unusually large proportion of this interval. The melody tones are those of the second 5-toned scale. A downward sliding of the voice, impossible to transcribe, occurred at the end of the first and third measures. 533*

HAND GAME SONGS

On two occasions the writer had the privilege of attending a hand game of the Pawnee held in the same lodge where the victory dances for returned soldiers had been held. (Pl. 7, *c*.) The first of these games was in 1919 and the second in the following year. The number of Indians in attendance was more than 200. In former times this game was played only by men and the objects hidden were short sticks, but at the present time both men and women take part in the game, hiding small balls, slightly larger than bullets. The man holding the balls moves his hands above his head, puts them behind his back, and does everything possible to mystify and confuse his opponent, while the songs grow more excited as the moment for making the guess approaches. Ghost dance songs are sung in the dancing which takes place at intervals during the game. The balls are hidden by players of one side until the opponents have made five correct guesses in succession. 524 533* 796

The games are often of long duration, the first game attended by the writer continuing about six hours. This game was opened in a ceremonial manner by James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who also recorded the guesses by means of decorated sticks. Seven feathered sticks were placed upright in the ground before him, [35] and this was said to be "as in the Ghost dance." [36] The woman who "gave the dance" stood in the center of the lodge and appointed

[35] Two sets of such sticks are illustrated by Culin, each set consisting of eight sticks. In one set these are 17 inches long, four painted yellow and four painted blue, and all feathered like arrows. In the other set each stick bears a little hoop at its end, decorated with feathers. The same authority illustrates a set of four hiding sticks, 13½ inches long, marked in pairs alike, one pair with six notches on one side and one notch on the other side, and the other pair with an incised cross on each side of the sticks. (Culin, Stewart, Games of the North American Indians, Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 274, 275, Washington, 1907.)

[36] The number seven is particularly sacred in the Ghost dance. Thus there were seven Ghost dance leaders, wearing sacred crow feathers as emblems of their leadership.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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those who should lead the two opposing sides. These in turn selected those who should hide the balls. It was customary to give the balls to persons sitting next each other, the guesser indicating by a gesture whether he (or she) believed the balls to be in the two outer hands, the two inner, or one outer and one inner hand. The writer was invited to sit beside a member of the tribe and join in the game, attempting to hide the balls in the manner of the Indians.

An unfortunate though not unusual circumstance took place in the dances which occurred during this game. The woman who gave the hand game was afflicted with what was termed a "Ghost dance fit." [27] She staggered and moaned in a pitiful manner but did not fall to the ground. Several persons went to her aid and restored her in the manner peculiar to the Ghost dance.[28]

The second hand game attended by the writer took place on April 16, 1921, and was given by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who recorded Song No. 80. This was said to be her hand game, not only because she gave the invitations and provided the feast, but because certain features of the game, as played that day, had been revealed to her in a dream. The symbolism of certain articles used in that game was not made known to the singers and perhaps is known only to herself. The game was held in the same 6-sided lodge as the former hand game and the victory dances. (Pl. 7, *c*.) As on the former occasion, Mr. Murie opened the game in a ceremonial manner. The doors were closed and a filled pipe was offered to the earth and the sky. Mrs. Good Eagle was a dignified hostess, standing in the center of the lodge and appointing those who should lead the two sides of players. After the game the doors were again closed and a tiny portion of each sort of food was ceremonially offered and then laid beside the fire space, opposite the door. A bountiful feast was then served. According to Indian custom, each person provided his own utensils and the food was served in large containers. The writer shared in the feast.

Eight of the songs used at this game, during the hiding of the balls, were later recorded by Horse Chief, a prominent singer at the drum. In some of these songs there were no words and in others the words are obsolete, the singer repeating them but having no knowledge of their meaning.

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[27] The woman undoubtedly suffered from the early stages of what, in the Ghost dance, would have been a trance. Mooney states that he "was able to note all the stages of the phenomenon . . . through the staggering, the rigidity, the unconsciousness, and back again to wakefulness. On two occasions my partner in the dance, each time a woman, came under the influence and I was thus enabled to note the very first nervous tremor of her hand and mark it as it increased in violence until she broke away and staggered toward the medicine man within the circle. Young women are usually the first to be affected, then older women, and lastly men." (Mooney, James, The Ghost Dance Religion, Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 923, Washington, 1896.)

[28] The "Shaker religion" has been introduced among the Indians at Neah Bay, Wash., and at a gathering in that village the writer saw a woman afflicted in a manner similar to the "Ghost dance fit." A slave woman went to her, stroked her arms and head, and gradually quieted her.

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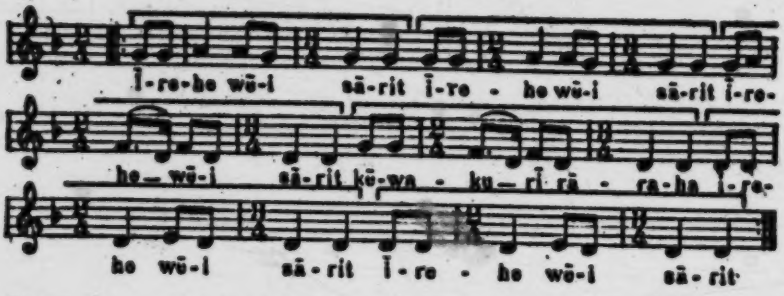
dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost dance. The skin was not made into a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder. He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing.

No. 58. Running Scout's Ghost Dance Song

(Catalogue No. 1088)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded



Īreho	wēi	sārit	kōwaku	rī	rāraha
Now there	they	are	fox	they	have

Analysis.—This song, like others of the hand game and Ghost dance, consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. In this instance there are two units, the second occurring only in the middle part of the song. It is interesting to compare the third measure from the beginning with the second measure from the close, the accent to the accented tone in the first instance expressing a certain restlessness while the second phrase is more restful. This song contains the minor triad and fourth and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

The final song of this group is concerning the Ghost dance and, according to Mr. Murie, was sung in the Young Dog Society. The words "the father's child" refer to the messiah whose coming was expected in the Ghost dance.

Analysis.—The three renditions of this song are alike in every respect except that the intonation on D in the upper octave is variable, occasionally being sung almost as D sharp. The time was maintained steadily and the renditions were separated by

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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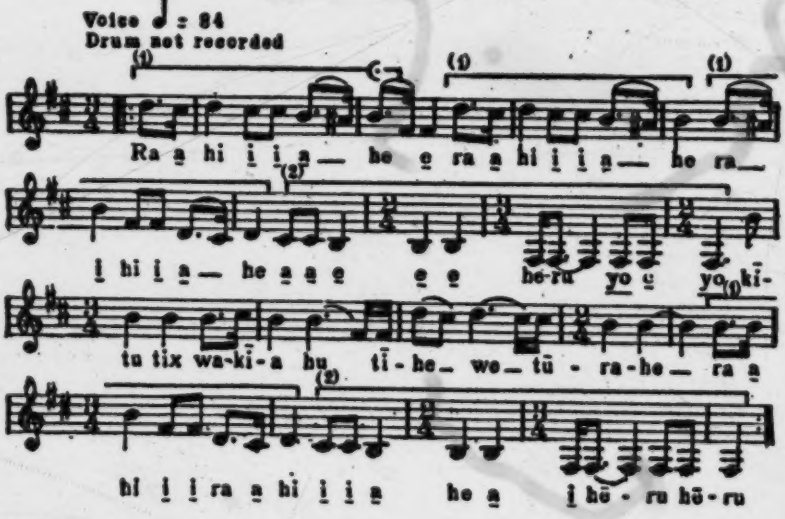
*533 whole tones and semitones. The seventh is sharped in every occurrence, this accidental being of particular interest in a song with minor tonality. The song contains all the tones of the octave except the fourth and sixth.

No. 66. "It Is Good Where We Are Now"

(Catalogue No. 1090)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN



Ra	hi	he	hēru	kĭtu	tix	wakĭa
Yonder	there	they	come	are	they	saying
ahu	tihe	we	tūrahe	hi	he	hēru
	over here	now	good	there	they	come

FREE TRANSLATION

There they come yonder,
They are saying "It is good over here
where we are now."
There they come.

535 796 727 Roaming Chief sang the following song at the Pipe dance and it was sung at the Victory dance attended by the writer. It was said that "Mother Corn was carried on the warpath to give victory and was also used in the Pipe dance." The words are freely translated, "My whole trust is in Mother Corn."

Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slow and somewhat *rubato*, a slight prolonging of certain tones being indicated in the transcription. In some of the renditions the time values in the third

3: Densmore
668, 796

Pawnee NQ18

[For songs associated with the Ghost Dance ceremony, see category 116, pp. 78-86. --Analyst]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

authority resided in the evening star bundle[1] of the center village, but at the time of the federation of these villages, powers were delegated to four special or main bundles which in turn served as the basis of the governing power. These were:— 631 778

1. The Yellow Tipi, or Yellow Star bundle, pertaining to the powers of the Northwest (akarákata, yellow tipi).

2. The Mother-born-again, or White Star bundle, the powers of the Southwest (atíratatariwáta, mother born again).

3. The Leading Cornstalk, or Red Star bundle, the power of the Southeast (skawá"ha kitáwi, literally, a lucky woman as leader, but refers to a corn symbol).

4. The Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, or the bundle "with a round thing tied on" pertains to the Northeast (riwiruchaku, round thing on).

To this list may be added the Human Skull bundle and the North Star bundle. These bundles may be said to be general in the sense that they are attached to no particular village but minister to the Skidí at large.

There were, however, two independent Skidí villages that refused to enter the federation. These were the Squash Vine village (pahukstatu) and Wolf-standing-in-water-village (skirirara). Each of these villages had a bundle, but little in common with the ritual scheme of the federated villages.

The federation of the thirteen villages is represented and formalized in a ceremony known as the four-pole ceremony. For this a circular embankment was thrown up with an opening to the east. Out in front of this entrance was a small mound of earth taken from the fire pit and inside at the west a raised altar platform. Around the inside of the ring of earth was a screen of green branches set up in the ground. Arranged around the fireplace were four poles bearing a tuft of branches at the top; a white pole of cottonwood, a red of box elder, a black of elm, and a yellow of willow. In the ceremony the bundles enumerated above and their keepers had fixed positions according to their rank and the geographical relations of the respective villages. As will be noted in the diagram most of the bundles are upon the north side of the enclosure, these lived on the north side of the Loupe River, the others upon the south side. The positions of the priests of the bundles are shown in the diagram and in the ceremony the bundles are opened before them in order (Fig. 1). 346 631 796

The leading bundles are associated with the four poles, according to the colors as stated in their enumeration. These bundles, poles, colors, etc., 631 778 796

[1] The Evening Star, or red calf bundle (arípahat, red calf) may be called upon in time of need to supplement the powers of a leading bundle. Because of this relation to the four leading bundles it is sometimes called rakatíra (lay across them).

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represent the powers in the four quarters of the world and also stand for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but in no fixed order, the season a bundle represents being determined by the order of the ceremony.

A brief abstract of the mythical account of the inauguration of this federation may make the foregoing clearer:—

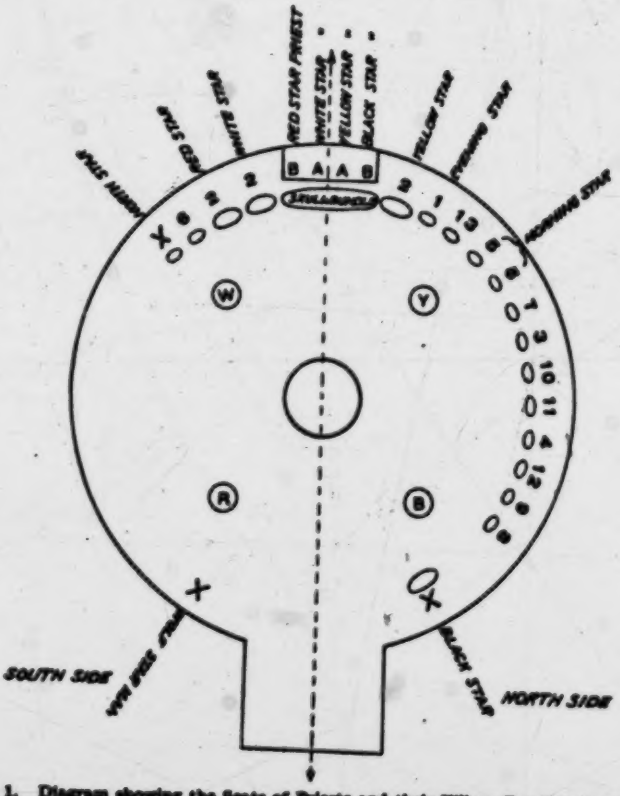

Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Seats of Priests and their Village Bundles, in the Four-pole Ceremony. The numerals are from the table of villages in the text. The places of the four main bundles and the special bundles are designated by their respective names.

Evening Star (Venus) is the keeper of the firesticks which she received when she married Morning Star (Mars). He was the ruling spirit to the east of the milky way. Evening Star was a beautiful woman and very powerful. She was opposed to the creation of the earth and man and had overcome all the stars seeking her in marriage. Supporting her were four great powers, or stars, the Bear, Panther, Wildcat, and Wolf. There was also a great serpent group of stars. Morning Star

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overcame all of these in turn. Thus, he secured Evening Star. Then follows the familiar vanquishing of vaginal teeth. In course of time, a daughter was born. The earth was then created for the home of this child. The Sun and Moon became parents of a boy and he also was placed upon the earth.

631
773

[346]
[778]
[796]

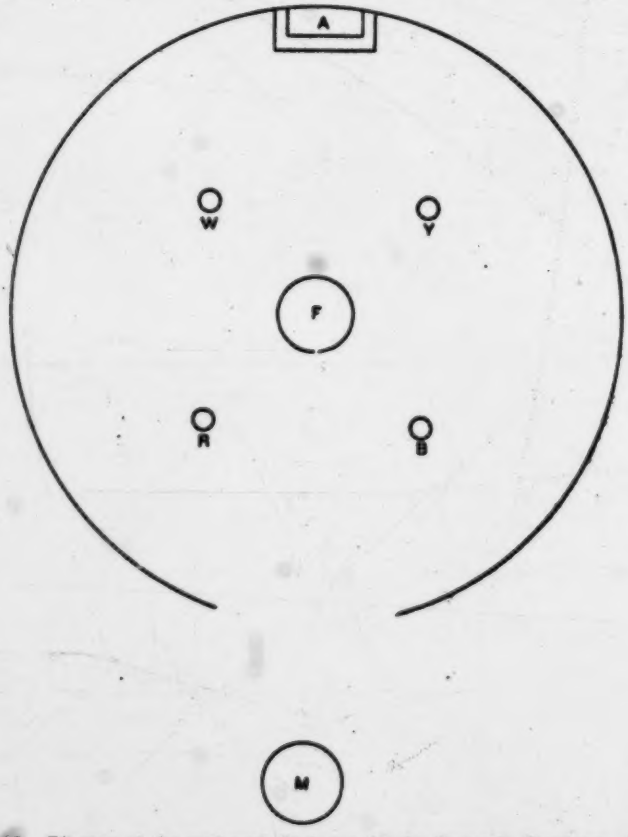

Fig. 2. Diagram of the earthwork Enclosure for the Four-pole Ceremony: A, altar for the buffalo skull; W, white pole (cottonwood); Y, yellow pole (willow); R, red pole (box alder); B, black pole (elm); F, fire pit; M, earth taken from the fire pit. During the ceremony a screen of green branches is set up inside the embankment. The poles are young trees trimmed to a few branches at the top. The seats and positions of bundles were as shown in Fig. 1.

After many years when the people were numerous, Morning Star demanded a human sacrifice as a return for his trials. Evening Star gave one man and woman directions for making the Yellow Calf bundle. Then Evening Star told him that there were many people scattered over the earth and that he should call them to-

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575 These were highly decorative and spectacular affairs, but seem to lack ceremonial elements.

The society appointed as soldiers dress up their lances and prepare a horse to bear them. The keepers of the lances always led in the journeys of the camp on the hunt and set up the lances at the places where the soldier lodge was to be. Here they are kept and any person in the camp can take them up when going out to look for buffalo. When going out to take the buffalo, the lance bearers lead and hold the line by the lances, no one being supposed to go in advance. When buffalo are surrounded the lance bearers act as the chief police, see that a fair division of the meat is made, settle disputes, etc. Then while butchering is going on the lance bearers go up to a hill and watch for enemies and are the last to come into camp.

The lances of the bundle societies were the leading ones and of them the crow lances were the last to be renewed and were in a way the highest in [726] rank. When going into battle, bearers of this special lance, must be the very last to retreat. The same is true in counting coup, they must wait until all are through. All the lance bearers must be at the front and may plant their lances in the ground far out in advance; this is a signal for all the members to rally around the standard and stand fast.

[721] The lances could never be taken out in private war parties or raids but only used to repel or meet a general attack. The seats of members were [616] fixed and arranged around the lodge in two halves, the north and south sides. This corresponds in a way to the bundle scheme as demonstrated in Fig. 1. New members were given seats according to the side of their village bundle. This, of course, applies to the Skidi; the other divisions assigned new members to a side according to the places of their respective ancestors.

[606] The north side conducts, or leads, in the winter ceremonies; the south, the summer. The organization of each side is: a leader or chief, two drummers and singers, one lance bearer, and one errand man, or doorkeeper. There is also a herald who in outdoor ceremonies is mounted. Thus, for a society as a whole the number of officers is double the above.

575 When winter approaches, the societies hold a special ceremony by which
796 the lances are stripped and the dressings wrapped up to remain until the renewing ceremony of the following spring. At the renewing ceremony the old lances are first reassembled but permanently retired when the new ones have been installed. They are not destroyed but kept to place in the graves of great warriors.

575 When the lance is planted before the enemy, the bearer knows that he
726 must stand fast, he cannot take it up except to advance it toward the enemy. Hence, the planting of the lance is really the "no flight" obligation. If, however, the lance is in danger, another member may take it up and carry it out. The bearer may then retire.

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MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

The medicinemen of the Pawnee were members of several permanent organizations. Once a year, late in the summer, each tribal division held a grand medicine ceremony lasting twenty days or more which though in many respects a tribal affair had a permanent organization. Its leaders were assumed to be the grand masters of shamanism and to know the secrets of all other societies. At another time during the season the doctor's dance is held, a general one-day ceremony for which there is also an organization. Independent of these ceremonies were a number of societies composed of one or two great medicinemen, a few students and a considerable number of attached members who took part in the dancing, but were not otherwise acquainted with the secrets. These organizations usually held ceremonies twice a year, early in the spring and late in the autumn. These were ritualistic ceremonies, the underlying conception of which seems to be the purification and the renewing of the powers resident in the sacred objects belonging to their craft. The Skidí maintained two large earth-lodges, one in the east and one in the west for these ceremonies and it is these lodges that were popularly known as the grand medicine lodges. The one in the west seems to have been the original lodge and the one most often used.

At the sound of the first thunder in spring, the members of the medicine societies like the keepers of bundles, take out all their regalia and implements, purify them in a smudge of sweetgrass and perform a prescribed ceremony. The next day the regular ceremony begins. The altar in the medicine lodge is prepared and in front of it are set up the two sacred loons, facing east. Two wooden bowls are filled with blue earth and soot, with which the members paint. As in other ceremonies, the seats are in two sides, with the leaders and all other officers paired. Each side has a buffalo rawhide to beat upon and about a dozen gourd rattles are at hand for the use of the dancers. There are also two water drums.

The first ceremonies are dances to the mythical water monster. The leader for the north side opens, then the leader for the south, and so on in turn around the circle. As this proceeds, people may enter and make offerings of property to the loons at the altar and also make presents to individual dancers.

Then the regular Pawnee smoke offering is made. Each medicineman then in turn brings a filled pipe to the altar and makes the offering. A herald then goes out and invites all who had given presents (only men who

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have consecrated buffalo or performed certain deeds can smoke at any time) to come with their pipes. All who wish, enter in turn and offer their pipes. As these offering ceremonies are in reality prayers, this is regarded as the best time to plead for success in all things and this is also the motive in bringing in property and presents. 756 796

Another period of singing and dancing closes the ceremony, after which the medicinemen divide the presents. Kettles of corn are brought in and the bowls for the feast. The leaders fill the bowls for their sides and make a special offering before the bowls are passed. Meat is then brought in and handled in a similar manner.

A somewhat similar ceremony is held in the autumn but this time in a circular shelter of green boughs suggesting the sun dance enclosure of the Dakota.

While the medicinemen's societies were not recognized as such in the twenty-day ceremony, they were sure to have among their members famous medicinemen who would set up their booths in the lodge. Usually one of these was the leader of a society and around him the members would gather and assist in staging his tricks. The members of a society were really students from whose ranks the leading places were filled in times of need.

MEDICINEMEN'S SOCIETIES.

[184]

	Skidi	Chauf	Pitahaufrata	Kit'kahdaki	Squash Vine
Twenty-day Ceremony (tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand)	×	×	×	×	×
Doctor Dance (kurau)	×	×	×	×	–
Bear Society (pitararis kuruks)	×	×	×	×	–
Buffalo Doctors (kura taraha)	×	×	–	–	–
Deer Society (raris ta)	×	×	×	×	–
Blood Doctors (kura patu)	×	–	–	–	–
Iruska Society (pitararis iruska)	×	–	×	–	–
One Horn Dance (raris arika)	×	×	×	×	×

THE TWENTY-DAY CEREMONY.

Once a year, late in the summer, each division had a grand medicine ceremony. This lasted from twenty to thirty days and was an intense

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affair. This is not the time to go into a detailed account of it, but the following general sketch of the procedure seems necessary.

The native name for the ceremony is tawaru kutchu, big sleight-of-hand, but we shall for convenience speak of it as the twenty-day ceremony, as in fact it is often called by the Pawnee themselves. It is found among all the divisions, but seems to have originated with the Squash Vine village, to whose medicinemen alone certain parts of the ritual were known. From the originators it passed to the Skidí and then to the other divisions. The twenty-day ceremony proper is given in the early autumn after all the bundle ceremonies have been performed, the corn harvested, etc. At the proper time the lodge is cleared and the altar arranged as before. After certain preliminary ceremonies, it is in order for each medicineman to build a booth [343] of green willows in the lodge. They proceed ceremonially to a thicket where each gathers his willows, with which they march back and then construct their booths.

It may be stated that each medicineman sets up a booth for himself, but if he has attached to him one or more younger men in the capacity of students, these assist. Each booth, therefore, really represents a group of men. Further, all the people of the village to which a given medicineman belongs may at times enter, take seats around the booth, and offer assistance. In this way the whole people may be said to participate.

Among the Skidí there is a special feature since they are not content with merely dancing to the mythical water monster, but construct his image encircling the fireplace. In this all the medicinemen's groups take shares. The head is begun on the south side of the door. The mouth is open, with teeth of willow. The head is covered with buffalo skin. There are two long "feelers" decorated with bands of bright colors. On the crown of the head is a large erect plume of down feathers. The body of the monster is formed of bowed willows, plastered over with mud. The tail is at the north side of the door and is forked like that of a fish.

The fireplace is cleared out and a large turtle modeled there, his head toward the altar. A new fireplace is then made on his back. While the water monster was peculiar to the Skidí the following were found among all divisions. A tree was cut and brought in with a ceremony almost identical with that found in the sun dances of other tribes. The Skidí plant the tree (a cedar) in the forked tail of the monster, the others put it (a cottonwood) at the altar. A life-sized woman is built up of clay, dressed in regular costume and set up on the south side of the lodge. A large figure of a man is cut from rawhide and placed upon a pole above the lodge. Numerous small human figures are cut from rawhide, strung upon cords and stretched about overhead in the lodge. All these objects are highly symbolic: thus, the fire

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is the sun; the mud woman, the moon; the large rawhide image, the morningstar; the many small images, stars. 184 532 756

All this construction was part of the ritual and so controlled by a definite program. When everything was in place, a general dedication ceremony followed in connection with which is a spectacular march through the village in two lines, according to their sides. In front, two men carry the sacred animals from the altar, dancing. (For the Skidí, two loons are used, for the other divisions, two beavers.) All medicinemen are supposed to derive their powers from living creatures and their booths are spoken of as animal lodges. In this procession each man costumes himself so as to represent his animal mentor, often in very realistic fashion. There were also a few clowns dressed like wolves. 778 796 756 796 [522]

After the tour of the village, the procession enters the lodge and holds a secret ceremony upon which we have no data. Those on the outside hear a great uproar and a riot of hideous noises, while clouds of white dust rise from the smoke hole. When all is quiet again, the door is opened. The leader then performs a ceremony in which he sprinkles water about to consecrate the lodge.

It is then in order for the various medicinemen to demonstrate their animal powers. This is the time when remarkable feats of juggling were performed; thus it is told that stalks of corn were made to grow up and mature in a moment, likewise plums and cherries, the bear men tore out a man's liver and ate it, after which he rose unharmed, and so on, in bewildering variety.

Finally, a certain number of days were given to ceremonial visits to the sacred bundles, each in turn, where certain ceremonies were performed.

At the end the animal powers and images are taken down and carried to a stream or lake. Here they are heaped up in the water something like a beaver's house and the mud woman placed on top.[1]

Places or booths in this ceremony were assigned by the leaders. A man having set himself up as a medicineman would apply for a place. He would be assigned one provisionally and at the proper time called upon to demonstrate; if he failed to carry his trick through successfully he was ejected, but otherwise given a permanent seat. As may be anticipated from the foregoing, medicinemen were trained and not made suddenly through dreams or visions. It is true that such experience counted for much, but the usual way to become a medicineman was to succeed one's teacher at his death. Thus, it is clear that the seats in the twenty-day ceremony were practically fixed in form and number.

[1] It may be significant that the animal painted tipis of the Blackfoot and Dakota were always disposed of by sinking in water and that many ceremonial objects among the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan were similarly treated.— Ed. [171]

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MODERN CEREMONIES.

527 796 Among the northern Plains tribes there are a number of associations for social dancing and entertainment. Such seem to be wanting among the Pawnee, as the following pages will show, but certain more or less serious ceremonies are now made the occasion for considerable social enjoyment. The widely diffused Omaha, or grass dance, forms of the ghost dance, and of the peyote almost exhaust the list of modern ceremonies. We heard of no women's guilds or clubs and no dances of any kind save those mentioned above.

THE MODERN IRUSKA.

175 177 648 796 The well-known Omaha, or grass dance, is generally known among the Pawnee as a variation of their own iruska (p. 008), though in its present form it was introduced through Oglala influence.

The Skidi Iruska. In 1887 three Pawnee Skidi men went to visit the Oglala Indians. Arriving there, they were entertained by Young-man-afraid-of-his-horses and were feasted throughout the village for several days. On the last day an iruska dance was held for their benefit. The Sioux gathered in a large round house built for dancing. The drum was carried in and the dancers filed in. The Sioux began to sing and the Pawnee noted that the songs were different from their own. However, they danced with the Sioux and received many presents, moccasins, pipes, and beaded objects. The Sioux singers asked the Pawnee to sing some of their songs which the Pawnee did. The Sioux were pleased with the Pawnee singing and gave them more presents.

When the three Pawnee men returned to their home they began to teach other young men the Sioux songs they had learned. One day some Skidi young men came together and Knife-chief told them about the Sioux dance. The old Pawnee iruska dancers never used sleigh bells upon their bodies; but did use them around the drum. The Sioux dancers also wore ornamental clothes while the Pawnee did not. All the Pawnee dancers wore was the headgear and the bustles. The Sioux bustle was also different.

175 575 796 Knife-chief had a bass drum brought in and began to teach the Sioux songs. Those who were not singing, danced, but they did not know how to keep time. After the singing, the dance society was organized. Knife-chief was the drum keeper and leader of the singers. Then two chiefs were

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selected to be leaders on the south side and two for the north side. On each side of these two men the dancers were to be seated. At each end of the row of dancers was to sit a whip man. The rules adopted for the dance were those of the Sioux.

This dance became popular, for every time they had it men and women gave presents to one another. It was kept up until Knife-chief died when his widow took charge of the drum. When her son was old enough he took over the drum and for several years was its keeper. On one occasion a dance was promised on New Year's day, but the boy refused to let the people have the drum. They borrowed another drum and had the dance anyhow. After the dance they discovered that the boy had given the drum to a man who belongs to another village.

In the spring of 1911 Eagle-chief called some young men together and told them he wanted to organize a new iruska dance. This was agreed to by all. Money was collected to buy a new bass drum and sleigh bells. Four chiefs were selected as leaders in the dance: Coming-sun and Sun-chief for the north side, and Struck-enemy and Lone-chief for the south side. Coming-sun now became the leader in the ceremony preceding the dance. He selected six singers: Yellow-horse, Dog-chief, Only-a-chief, Young-cedar-tree, Little-sun, and Young-good-chief. Next he selected the two whip men who were to have charge of all things. Then he selected two chiefs for the dancers on each side: the south side one to wear the bonnet, the north side one to carry the tomahawk. He next selected a man to carry the whistle and then four women to assist in singing: Food-giver, Woman-young-chief, Woman-yellow-corn, and Woman-cedar-tree.

Coming-sun then told the people they would hold a dance the next day and asked each woman to cook something for the feast. The next day people gathered in the round house. The chiefs and dancers sat in their proper places, the whip men sitting at each end. The drum was placed north of the entrance, the singers taking their places around it, the women singers behind the male singers. The visitors sat behind the dancers, the women behind them. The four old men sat at the ends of the visitors' rows. Coming-sun selected one of the dancers to sit outside to keep back spectators.

Coming-sun asked the south side whip man to take some live coals and place them east of the fireplace. Then the whip man was told to go to Coming-sun who gave him a handful of dried cedar leaves. He was then told to place the cedar upon the live coals. Coming-sun then gave the whip man the pipes and passed them through the smoke four times and then handed them back to Coming-sun. Then the whip man was told to take the drum and pass it through the smoke four times and return it to its place.

Next the chiefs one by one went to the smoke and passed through it; then

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the dancers, first one from the north side, then the south side, and so on. Then the women went to the smoke. When all had gone through the smoke, Coming-sun told the south whip man to return the coals to the fireplace.

When this was done, Coming-sun spoke as follows: "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, notice my speech and actions for hereafter we shall say

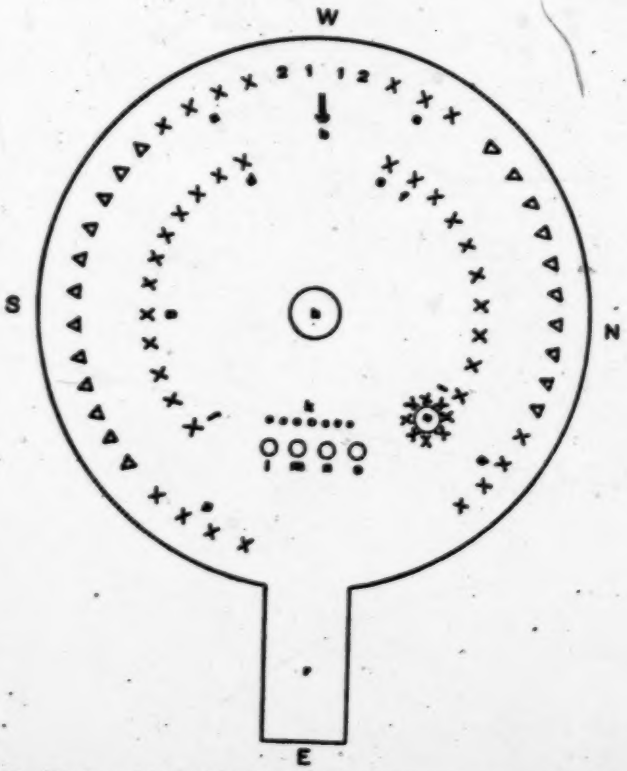

Fig. 18. Diagram of the Skidi Iruska Society. The crosses represent the seats of men, triangles those of women. a and c, visitors of note; b, the pipe; d, the bonnet wearer; e, sword bearer; f, tomahawk bearer; g, whistle bearer; h, fireplace; i, j, whip bearers; k, bowls of cooked maize; l, o, platters of bread; m, kettle of meat; n, coffee urn; p, q, old men; r, entrance way to the lodge; s, drum and drummers. 1-2, 1-2 are the leaders for the two sides.

and do as I am about to do. Above all things, Tirawahat gave the pipe to our people that he might receive smoke from them. We have the pipes here at the altar. They are filled with native tobacco. It is now time for Tirawahat to receive our smoke. As you see the men I select go through

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the smoke ceremony, so will it be done in all our iruska dances, for I have whispered to the men who shall offer the smoke. I now select Sun-chief to offer the smoke. He will now rise and take the pipe." 276 575 796

Sun-chief arose and took the pipe from Coming-sun. Then he went around the fireplace and stood to the west. He took a pinch of tobacco from the pipe, raised up his hand and gradually lowered it to the rim of the fireplace where he placed the tobacco. Next he went northeast by the south and east of the fireplace and squatted down. The south side whip man went to the fireplace, took a live coal and placed it upon the bowl of the pipe. When the pipe was lit, Sun-chief arose and went west of the fireplace, here he stood facing east and gave four whiffs of smoke to the skies; then four whiffs to mother earth. Then he dumped the ashes from the bowl of the pipe and passed his hands over the pipestem toward the skies, twice with his right hand and twice with his left hand. He passed his hands upon the pipestem to the rim of the fireplace, twice with his right and twice with his left hand. Then he turned towards the west and walked to Coming-sun and handed him the pipe. Coming-sun said, "Rawa"; all repeated "Rawa." The second pipe was given to Lone-chief of the south side and the same ceremony gone through.

When the smoke ceremony was over the outside man came in and permitted those outside to come in. Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, we are about to dance. You dancers must be careful with the things you are wearing for if you drop anything, one of those old men will have to take it up and tell of his deeds. Then you must pay. Each man who has a song must dance when his song is sung and must give a small present to some old man or woman. We will have five sets of songs, ten in each set. Everyone must dance. Anyone receiving a present must say, 'rawa iruska.' After each ten songs we will smoke and rest." 575 796 [533]

So the singers began their songs. Every time the whip men rose everyone had to dance.

After the dance, Coming-sun said, "Singers, chiefs, old men, and iruska, this is now our iruska dance. Visiting parties, if they wish, may tie tobacco upon the drum, then the keeper of the drum must notify the leaders, who will plan a dance to give presents to visitors. This is now a popular dance among the Pawnee for at these dances people give presents to one another and there is a general good time for all.[1] [535] [431]

[1] This form of the iruska was originated by the writer who may be said to be entirely responsible for the organization. He knew very little of the procedure among the Dakota but was fairly familiar with the form of the Osage. From the latter he took his main ideas and the various officers with their respective duties. Also like the Osage he adopted strict rules for conducting the dance. Yet the manouvers and serious parts of the ceremony were all taken from bundle rituals of the Pawnee.— Ed. [177]

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175 575 796 *The Kit'kahâzki Iruska.* About 1894 while the ghost dance was still intense a man named Sitting-bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and lead it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the hands of Little-sun, one of the leading singers. According to this ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-fly-high, also a pupil of Sitting-bear.

575 796 In the Kit'kahâxki society there were four chiefs, as among the Skidí. The dancers are on both sides, north and south. At the south side entrance there are four chiefs and four pipes. Next to the chiefs on the north side are two old men. The director of the ceremony sits near the pipes and his assistant, or the whip man, by his side. The singers sit around the drum. [533] Unlike the Skidí when they have sung a set of songs, all smoke receiving no smoke from the chiefs. The songs go in sets of ten.

At a certain point in the ceremony all rise and stand in a circle with the chiefs holding pipes in the center. Then with songs the smoke offerings are made. This is similar to the preceding. After the offering the pipes are delivered to the pipe keepers. In the two last dances everybody takes part and makes them as violent as possible. The ending is as in the preceding. The food is brought in as before. A man and woman are now selected to make the corn offering. The woman receives a small wooden bowl with a horn spoon, she is the donor of the food. The movement to the kettle is different, the man dips out the food into the bowl held by the women. A little from every kettle is taken. Then they go to the west side of the fireplace. The man and woman here offer the food as before. The bowl and spoon are returned to the keeper, while the whip man selects men to hand out the food as before. The head chief at the south side recites part of the ritual and announces the close of the ceremony.

The regalia are the same as for the preceding. The songs and procedures are, however, quite original.

The Chaui Iruska. During the ghost dance excitement Roaming-chief began to dream songs and a form of the modern iruska ritual. Later, he started the organization which spread to the Pítahauírata. Unlike the other iruska societies the drum is set at the west end, or head of the lodge, the old original Pawnee form. The drumsticks are beaded and bear feathers on the end. [293] One chief on each side, some of them have short sticks covered with beads and decked with feathers. The sticks for the two sides are of different colors. There are four of these sticks, and hooked at the end, on the north side; three on the south. No whip man. The smoke ceremony here is before the singing. The staff men rise and hold them as

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signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'-shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidí iruska dog flesh is served. Four men wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

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262 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of
796 the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe
174 they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably
177 due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at
648 Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his
796 aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance; so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

The Ghost Dance.

668 According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the
796 Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally to the Wichita.

787 In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

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games. The old men were playing with the big hoops and sticks; the boys with rings and sticks. He also saw some women playing with baskets and plum seeds and others playing with staves. He could not understand the speech of these people. When the two came to a tipi they entered and there the dead man saw his dead relatives, mothers, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters. The old people sitting near the entrance, he was told, were his grandparents. He was given food and after eating he was told to watch the people who were dancing. 668 196 787

His father took him to the dancing ground. When they arrived, he saw the people dancing in a circle. The dancers were all painted and each wore feathers. Finally, he joined in the dance and learned some of their songs. While dancing he saw people acting queerly and seemingly possessed with a spirit. There were seven singers and two men with long poles acted as soldiers, but took no part in the dancing. Some men inside the ring ran from one person to another finally downing some of the people. These were mesmerizing one another. One man came to him, blew his breath upon his breast, embraced him, and finally blew his breath into his mouth, at which the newcomer fell into a trance. He arose quickly, however, and joined in the dance. He danced a long time until the man who had hypnotized him took him to one side and said, "Brother, you are now possessed with our power. You must return to your people and start this dance among them. Tell them you have seen the Messiah, the Son of the Father in the Heavens. He is leading us to your people. They must dance so they will also receive the power you now possess. We know you are living. Whatever you saw at the tree is yours. Give the red earth you find in the mountains to your people, let them paint their faces before they dance. Tell them of the Messiah and let them mourn as you now see these people do. We mourn for you and your people must mourn also. When you have started this dance among your people you will be able to come to us any time and we will teach you more about our ways. People will come to you from all over the country and you must tell them what you now see. This religion is for Indian people. The spirit will be sent to you. You must now return to your people."

The man then revived and went down from the mountain to his people. Night overtook him as he reached a valley. As he was going through some bulrushes trying to find a bed, he saw someone coming towards him on a mule. He saw that it was the same Messiah he had seen while in a trance. This time the one on the mule said, "My son, what you saw is all true. Tell your people, that I sent you, that my spirit will be with them." Then he disappeared. The man then made a bed of rushes and lay down. The next morning he arose and went on to his home.

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668 796 The people were frightened by his return, but when he told his story they rejoiced. Four days after he told them to prepare for a dance. When they were all standing around in a circle, with hands joined, he told his story. Then he began to sing and all moved around in a circle and began to have queer feelings, shivering all through their bodies. When the prophet shouted, some of the weaker ones fell into a trance. Sometimes when he waved the cotton handkerchief at some of them they would go down while others danced on. Some who began to mourn, cried out, holding their hands towards the skies and cried and cried; seemingly they could not stop crying.

This dance was carried on by the Paiute in Nevada until a northern Indian came to visit them. The story is told that this northern Indian had lost his child and was wandering over the country when he finally came to the dance and there was able to see his lost child through the prophet, Jack Wilson. He also saw their strange doings and got the story from Jack Wilson, who claimed that he knew beforehand that he was coming. This northern Indian returned to his people and told them about the new religion. He claimed that he himself had seen the Messiah in the mountains, that he also had seen his own dead relatives, that the Messiah had talked to him and that through the Messiah he had seen the dead people. So a party of four men, Badger, a Sioux, Sitting-bull, a Northern Arapaho, and two others went to Nevada to visit the prophet.

When these men arrived at Walker Lake, they found Jack Wilson and his Indians dancing. They made him some presents and asked to see the Messiah and their dead relatives to which Wilson replied, "Go and dance with my people and you will see all you want to see." These men joined in the dance. In a few days they too fell into a trance and saw the Messiah and their dead relatives.

These four men then went north to their homes; Badger, the Sioux went to the Standing Rock Agency and started the dance. Sitting-bull, instead of going to his own people, the Northern Arapaho, came into Oklahoma. This was about 1890. Here he started the ghost dance among the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne. Soon the news spread among the Wichita, Kiowa, and Comanche. At this time a young Pawnee Indian, Frank White, living among the Wichita, joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah, and then the village of people. He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in Pawnee. The first song was as follows: —

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Wey rey hey iri si ra.
Now you are coming.

Weyti ku wa tura wa hey.
I am longing for the village (kingdom).

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Wey ri hey iri si ra.
Now you are coming.

A sicks u wey ta tu ta hi i.
And now I place my spirit upon you.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-bull. 668 796

In the fall of 1892, Frank White came among the Pawnee and told his story to a few of his friends. He selected a few young men to whom he taught some of his own songs and also some Arapaho songs. As soon as they could sing a few songs they went to a camp to dance. There were about five singers, four women, and three boys. They selected a space east of the camp and started to dance. Whenever the prophet shouted, the dancers dropped to the ground in a trance. Some of the dancers began to mourn and others shook all over, for a mysterious spirit took possession of them. Then they danced a short time. The prophet told them of his experiences. He told the people that if they made up their minds to dance and see the Messiah, and their dead relatives, they would fall and see them; that the principal thing in the dance was to mourn and be humble in spirit. He then sent them home.

The next day, the people told of the dance they had and how they trembled and fell. The chiefs of the different bands took it up and set a day for the people to make their camp circle on Camp Creek. When the people had made camp, the chiefs met in council and invited the prophet. They asked that he start a dance and tell the people about the new religion. The prophet consented. A special tipi was set up for the prophet where he was to stay with the singers. The next day the prophet sent two of the singers through the camp to get some paint of all colors from each tipi. This paint was taken to the prophet who gave orders that all who wanted to dance must come into the tipi and have their faces painted. Each Indian now took presents to the tipi and was then painted. The singers painted their faces. Everybody was ready. The prophet went out of the lodge, the others following. They came to an open space where the prophet and singers joined hands and stood in a circle and sang. The people in the village came out of their tipis and ran to the circle. Some did not get into the ring for the unknown spirit took possession of them and stopped them. They raised their hands to the skies and began to cry. In the ring the dancers began to tremble; some seemed crazy. When the prophet went to them, they fell to the ground. Late in the evening they quit dancing, and then feasted.

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668 After they had eaten they danced again until ten o'clock. Men and
786 women returned to their tipis, mourning and crying and having shaking fits.
796 About five o'clock they began to dance again. This time there were about four men and three women who seemed to be trembling badly. They ran around the camp crying, "I do not want you, go away from me." About the third day, one of the women fell and lay on the ground about five minutes and then sat up. She began to cry and finally her crying turned into a song. One man went to her and she told what she had seen while she lay on the ground. The fourth day a young man fell and lay upon the ground all night. When he came to, he ran to the prophet's tipi and told what he had seen. The prophet ordered that all the people go upon a hill and hear the young man tell his story. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. When all the people were on the hill, standing in a line facing west, the young man was told to sit down in front of them, the village crier went and sat beside him. The young man told the following story:

668 When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I felt a queer
786 sensation passing through my body. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange
787 being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from
796 the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, "My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people." I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me, and said, "My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing." So we went on and there in the center of the village, our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying upon the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw.

668 The people went to him and as each person took hold of his hand, he
786 either fell or began to tremble. After this four men were selected to smoke
796 to the dead people. After the smoke everyone began to cry. Then the prophet and the new prophet ran around among the people throwing them

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down upon the ground. After the excitement they all went back to camp and danced until ten o'clock that night. The next morning all joined the dance again. This time a woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, "That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth." Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right. 668 786 796

While the Wichita had been indifferent to the teachings of White, the Pawnee soon became enthusiasts. White went first to the Pitahauirata village and began his ceremonies, where at once a few had the trances. As the news spread, the chiefs of all the Pawnee villages met to see demonstrations and discuss the movement. Two days were given over to dancing. The first camp was broken up by a fire, a tipi catching fire ignited the grass and destroyed much property; but undismayed a new camp was formed. Many persons went into trances, while many were alarmed at the intensity of the phenomenon. White then demonstrated his power by putting bystanders into trances by touching them. Finally he closed the demonstration by a spectacular race. Taking his position in the center, the converts around in a circle, he caused them to fall at will. 668 796

After this, practically the whole of the Pawnee were under White's influence. Dances were almost continuous during the winter and the following summer. Infatuated with the belief in the immediate destruction of the world, they planted no crops and threw away their property. Naturally, they became sullen and disobedient to their Agent, resulting in the arrest of White by United States marshals. [648]

This excited the Indians greatly and almost caused hostilities. In the meantime the Oto had taken up the Pawnee dance and also threatened to go on the warpath. Owing to the skill of their Agent, the Pawnee were quieted and White released. He himself did what he could to develop the movement into a less militant religion. To do this he magnified the Christian elements. There was opposition for a time for all the old Pawnee medicinemen took the trances as forms of the powers formerly exercised by the animal lodges (p. 602) and began a vigorous revival, each setting himself up as a prophet and seeking to outdo the others. White died in 1893, after which the strength and unity of the religion quickly disappeared among the many rival prophets. [756]

This Pawnee ceremony seems to have been largely original with White

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668 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring
796 tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony.
[177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now
[346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple.
[361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical
[787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog
[524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

The Peyote.

276 About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned
794 something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to
[177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked with Christ.

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with Christ. Under this new leadership the membership increased. The Oto carried the ceremony to the Omaha. Among the Pawnee the cult is found chiefly among the Pítahauírata where this new form originated; later, it found a following among the Chauí and then among the Kit'kahúxki with a few scattering adherents among the Skidí. 276 794

Naturally, this new leader introduced some original features. A special form of painted tipi was used, somewhat like that for the ghost dance. Certain changes were made in the rattle and the form of the drum. There is also an elaborate altar and the circle is divided into the usual north and south sides. 276 794 796

Among the special ceremonies is one for the water bearer. At midnight one is sent to get water from the stream. As he is under the influence of the drug he may fall into the water and drown, so special songs are sung during his absence to guard him. When he enters with the pail, it is purified in a cedar smudge, an offering made and then passed for drinking.

At dawn as the sun appears, the ritual is interrupted long enough to sing a special set of songs. While this is going on, the door curtain is raised so that the first rays of the sun may strike the altar. At the close of this special ceremony the ritual is resumed where left off.

The last songs of the ritual refer to Christ. The final song is repeated five times after which each member in turn prays to God.

A woman then enters with water, parched corn, and candy. She and the food are purified in a cedar smudge, then she retires. First the water is passed, then the corn, and finally the candy, circulating in this order until all is consumed.

The members now sit in their places and talk over their experiences. The objects used in the ceremony are gathered up and put away. The leader closes the meeting at noon with a lecture, or sermon, on ethical matters, speaking especially against the use of alcohol. Some Pawnee leaders refuse membership to all using alcoholic drinks.

At noon the members are invited out to dine by some leading man. When seated the leader takes up a pitcher of water and prays to God. Then he fills a glass and taking a sip passes it around the circle in true church fashion. Then they eat without ceremony.

After the meal the members again assemble in the peyote tipi, but this is an informal gathering where they discuss freely their faith and practise singing such songs as desired.

In the evening they depart. As each one leaves, he stands by the fireplace, holds aloft his hand and prays aloud. Then he shakes hands around the circle, pauses at the door to hold up his hand and perform certain other symbolic gestures, then passes out. So with all in turn, the leader being the last to go.

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276 The peyote tipi is dismantled the next day and the camp broken.

794 It may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the ghost dance excitement. One of his individual doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore.

The One Horn Dance.

178 Among the Skidí there is a modernized form of the one horn dance (p. 623) organized about 1893. It took its form from the dreams of a woman. 796 The man who spoke to her in the dream ran away as a buffalo. She went out at sunrise and saw a ring come down from the sun. Little by little she dreamed the songs and taught her husband. Finally, an eagle came to her in a dream and she was ordered to get an eagle. This she did. Again she dreamed of a crooked crow-feathered stick, this was made. Then a drum was made.

The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one horn dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman.

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MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly responsible. 776 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies. 292 796

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires. 224

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed. 361

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.) 622 756 782 [565] [773]

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were so qualified. Women were not permitted to smoke at all, though our informant remembers seeing two or three old women smoke, they being doctors. 276 [562]

Sun Dance. According to the Pawnee belief the sun dance was given to the Plains tribes by the Arikara. In ancient times the Gros Ventre intermarried with them and so first got the ceremony. It may be noted that in the four-pole ceremony (p. 551) and again in the twenty-day ceremony, the bringing in of the tree is in the main identical with the regular sun dance form. The torture feature reached the Pawnee through the Arikara. A member of the young dog society once exchanged rituals with an Arikara sun dancer and for a time this was a part of the dog society ritual (p. 587). There is a report, however, of a very old dance in which they gazed at the sun, but without the torture. 796

Tiny Bags of Medicine. All regalia of a serious nature and especially objects carried to war were made powerful by the presence of tiny bags of medicine. The contents were vegetable, chiefly roots. Roots were chewed and spit over men to make them brave, virtuous, healthy, etc. In fact, most all powers come through knowledge of the uses of plants. 789

Tobacco Planting. There was no special ceremony for planting or gathering tobacco. There is a saying that this was unnecessary for since tirawahat gave it to the Pawnee direct, he himself watches over it, so all that is needed is to plant the seed; but that other tribes got it from them or other Indians and so must use the powers of ceremonies to make it grow. 249

Witches. There may have been a witch society for there is a tale as to how a chief destroyed such an organization. In brief, he watched at his son's grave and first heard cries of owls, then people approaching. As they were uncovering the corpse, he seized one man, the others fled. The prisoner he threatened with death unless he explained all the secrets of the medicine so that he himself could become a member. This was done. The young man had been killed by them partly through jealousy but chiefly to secure fat from his heart to put in their witch bundles. Their chief powers were owls and yellow-hammers. They had killed the young man by magically shooting an owl's claw and a yellow-hammer's feather into his heart. When the chief had learned all the rites and the names of the members, he killed his informant. He cut him open, took the fat and part of the ribs home. The meat he cooked. While it was boiling, he sent for his soldiers and a few trusted men and gave them instructions. Then he sent for the members of the witch society (five or more including a woman) whom he feasted upon the flesh of their associate, but at a signal they were struck down by the soldiers. Their bodies and bundles were burned to put an end to witches. 754

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

In case of the Pawnee, we may note the fine example of pattern phenomena manifest in the adjustment of all kinds of ceremonies, original or borrowed, to this scheme of two sides and alternate leadership.[1] Based upon this fundamental pattern are two distinct patterns of organization: the lance-bearing societies and medicinemen's associations. From the preceding concrete accounts it is clear that all of the lance organizations must have been constructed or adjusted to the plan of some one parent society. The same may be said of the medicinemen's associations. We have commented upon the apparent dual division of chiefs and medicinemen (p. 639), the bundle scheme being the province of the former and to which the medicinemen were individually subject, but professionally formed a second half for social control. This duality is seen in the organization of all bundles and related societies under the four-pole ceremony and in like manner the organization of the medicinemen under the twenty-day ceremony. Here again is clearly a similarity of pattern in the coordination schemes for two groups of activities.

Another important conception of the Pawnee is the bundle sanction. Thus, as keeper of the village bundle the chief rules by a kind of "divine right," the highest exponent of which is the priest of the bundle, or the keeper of the ritual. The hunt and the raising of grain were each guarded over and governed by virtue of bundle rituals. A lance society performed no public function except under the sanction of one of the bundles. Furthermore, the federation itself was based upon superior or leading bundles, from which the chiefs and priests derived their authority. One must suspect that the conception of a bundle sanction was so fundamental with the Pawnee, that the first step toward a federation was of necessity the creation of a series of superior bundles.

In keeping with the foregoing conceptions is the hereditary system. Chiefs, priests, members of societies, etc. serve for life and endeavor to qualify some of their brothers and nephews to succeed them. In most organizations there were certain tests applied to the candidate for the ejection of the theoretically unfit, but these first chances were given to those whose brothers or uncles had been admitted to membership; likewise the priests of bundles must be those competent to perform the ritual, but here again the preference was given to maternal relatives. The important position of chief, or official keeper of the village bundle, was regarded as strictly hereditary to the next of kin, though incompetents were encouraged to decline the honor in favor of the next heir.

[1] A kind of dual leadership is found in many societies of the Ogiala and Blackfoot, as shown in the preceding pages, but without any ceremonial associations or counterparts in other ceremonies, from which we infer that it reached these tribes as an objective part of a borrowed system.

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4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 If one considers the conceptions that underlie the preceding ceremonials, it seems that the leading categories are the consecration of animals, especially the buffalo, the buffalo hunting rituals, the various procedures with corn, the ceremonies of the warpath and shamanistic feats. The most distinctive are the last, their variety and complexity probably exceeding those of any other tribe, features which must have made a deep impression upon their neighbors and given the Pawnee great cultural prestige.

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
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lineal reckoning. Finally, there is the possibility that descent may have altered during the long period of white contact. In any case, if the villages formerly tended to be endogamous, the question of descent in the village group would arise only as the result of infrequent inter-village marriages.]

Each village possessed a sacred bundle of its own, except that one village, the Four-Band village, had four such bundles. Where it has been possible to obtain the legend telling the origin of a village it appears that a star, or a group of stars, was responsible for the birth of the founder, or founders, of a village. The sacred bundle of the village either was given to the founder by the star or was made by the founder according to instructions from the star. The bundle itself was owned by the village chief, though his wife was the keeper, and a priest took charge of the rituals connected with it.

[The ceremonies associated with these sacred bundles gave each village a separate and distinct unity and also brought it into the ceremonial organization of the band as a whole. However, two Skidi villages never entered completely into the larger organization of the band. The complex ceremonial life of the Skidi is not fully elucidated in the Dorsey-Murie manuscript, but, so far as I can determine, the sacred bundle ceremonies fell into the following categories: (1) Those ceremonies that were the exclusive property of individual villages and were performed in connection with the individual village bundles; (2) those that related to the band and centered around two bundles belonging to the whole band, not to a single village; and (3) a group of ceremonies, including an annual cycle, that involved both village and band bundles, and were also considered as referring to the welfare of the band generally. Of this last group the ceremonies associated with the four bundles of the Four-Band village were of great importance.

According to a statement in the manuscript, the names of the villages and the names of the bundles were not the same and formerly had nothing to do with each other. Some of the villages were extinct and their bundles gone by 1907, and it apparently proved impossible to obtain a complete list of the names of the thirteen villages, as well as those of their respective bundles. In some cases, either the village or the bundle name had been forgotten. This gave rise to some confusion, for apparently some of the villages were remembered by their bundle names, and some of the bundles by their village names. It is probably for this reason that the village names published by Dorsey (1907b) and Murie (1914) do not entirely

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
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band assembled for ceremonies, they arranged themselves according to the positions of their guardian stars in the heavens. [778 361] 776

Only less powerful than the gods of the heavens were the gods of the earth. These were for the most part identified with animals in the same way that the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The earthly gods were organized into four lodges each of which had its leaders and its messengers, who served as intermediaries between the earthly gods and men. In these lodges they gathered in council to make or mar the fortunes of men, and to them favored mortals were taken to be instructed in the mysteries of earth-craft. The earthly gods were the special patrons of medicine-men and warriors.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were numerous and varied. They may be divided into two main classes,—ceremonies, which were in charge of societies whose members had certain secrets in common, and ceremonies which were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe. To the first class belong the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine-men. To the second class belong those which had to do with the welfare of the people. 796

Practically all the ceremonies of the second class centered about collections of sacred objects, called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were two additional bundles which were the property of the whole tribe. The objects in the bundles varied, but had a general similarity, each bundle containing at least one pipe, tobacco, paints, the skins of certain birds, and the Mother-Corn. The last consisted of two ears of corn, which were the most sacred objects in the bundle. When not in use, the objects were wrapped in a buffalo hide and hung from the wall of the lodge. In connec- 796 778

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796 778 tion with the bundle there were certain taboos which were rigidly enforced.

The ceremonies connected with the sacred bundles seem to fall into three divisions,—those ceremonies which were the common property of all the bundles and taken together formed the tribal ceremonial year; those ceremonies which were the property of the village bundles, and were open primarily to members of the village, and those ceremonies relating to the two bundles which were the property of the tribe as a whole. The rituals of the bundle-ceremonies were the property of certain priests, but members of the village or tribe who assisted in the performance of the ceremony had a right to know at least part of the meaning of the ritual.

All the ceremonies connected with sacred bundles seem to have had as their underlying idea a repetition, either through ritual or dramatization, of acts performed by supernatural beings during the mythologic age. As a rule, the ritual predominated, the dramatization playing only a minor part. The ritual was a formal method of restating the acts of the supernatural beings, and served the double purpose of redirecting their attention toward the people and of reminding the people of the deeds done for them by the gods. In this way the relationship between men and the supernatural world was renewed; and the gods, pleased with the attention bestowed upon them, continued their protection over the people. Coupled with practically all the ceremonies there was some form of offering or sacrifice, this idea reaching its climax in the Skidi sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star.

The bundles and their accompanying ceremonies collectively regulated and made provision for all the necessities of life during the year. All the bundle-ceremonies were held during the spring, summer, or

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autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the spring was thought to be a notification that they had once more turned their attention to it, and the people at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year, and was followed in regular order by a number of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, by which the deity of that name was supposed to be called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year. Although neither the most important or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies, it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities for direct communication with the deities themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of

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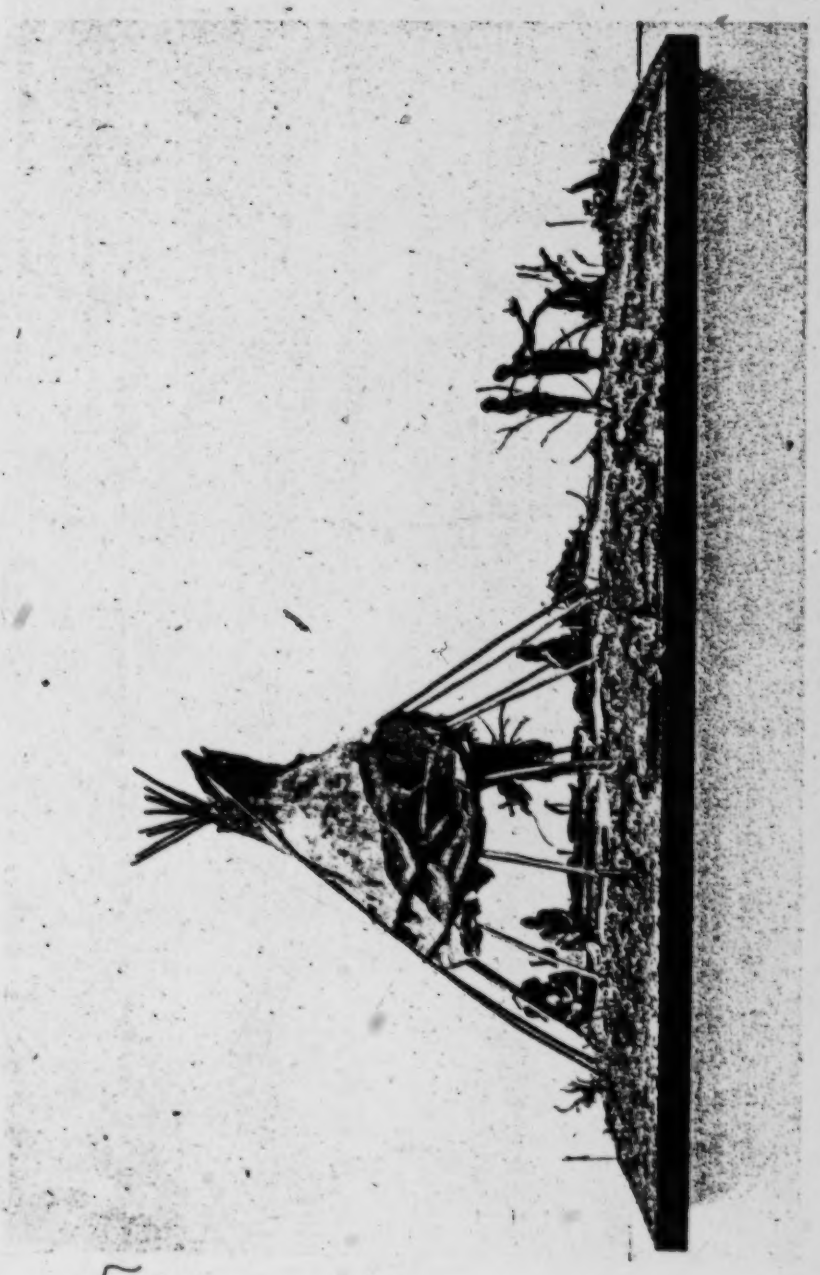

MINIATURE GROUP IN FIELD MUSEUM, SHOWING THE THUNDER CEREMONY.

[facing p. 10]

6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
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776 Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the
● 796 four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud,
[82] Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

796 As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help
533 us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an
[539] accompaniment, they then sang,—
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First Song

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after

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each song they smoked, and rested for a time before beginning the next.

After finishing the first song, they sang the following songs in order, repeating each ten times with the change of a single word each time,—

Second Song.

"It is you who speak, you who stand in the west.
Let them now take possession of the earth.
Let them now have the sacred bundle containing the wonderful things."

Third Song.

"The clouds looking like many tipis are coming from the west.
The clouds shall touch the earth and the earth shall receive power from Paruxti."

Fourth Song.

"The earth shook.
It was Paruxti's power that made the earth shake.
It is the earth that is shaken by the wonderful power of Paruxti."

Fifth Song.

"The power is now hidden in the earth.
The power is now hidden in the earth.
The earth now possesses the power.
Paruxti's power is the power in the earth."

At the completion of the songs there was a pause, and then the chief priest said, "It is now time for us to make a sacrifice of a heart and a tongue to Tirawa."

During the singing one of the priest's assistants had gone into the timber, and cut a number of slender willow wands. He gave these to one of the men participating in the ceremony, who stripped them of their bark, cut them into arrow lengths, and passed them to a second man who painted them red. The second man passed them to a third, who attached a little sack of tobacco to each and passed them to a fourth, who attached two strings of blue beads. The fourth man passed them to a fifth, who tied on pieces cut from scalps, kept in the bundle for that purpose. When the wands had been prepared, the man who had

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796 painted them went to a buffalo skull, placed north of the fireplace, and painted it with designs symbolizing the garden of the Evening Star. While this was going on, one of the priests took a dried buffalo heart and tongue, and cut each in nine pieces, arranging the pieces in nine little piles, in a row.

When these preparations were finished, the chief priest said,—"Chiefs sitting around in a circle, this offering is to be made to Tirawa, our father in the heavens, who made all things for himself. He it was who gave us the sacred things here before us. He is listening to us. We are sitting, as he told us to sit. We are doing, as he told us to do. Now we shall make the first offering to Tirawa." The priest of the Yellow Calf bundle then went to the chief priest, and was dressed by him in the buffalo robe which had been around the bundle. The sacred pipe from the bundle had previously been decorated and filled, and this was now given to the priest of the Yellow Calf bundle, together with one of the piles of dry meat and one of the decorated wands. With these he passed out of the lodge followed by an assistant (errand man), who bore a live coal from the fireplace in a bunch of grass. The earth taken from the fireplace of the lodge had been piled up in a small mound outside the entrance, which faced the east. Beyond this mound the two kindled a small fire, the fuel for which had been laid ready. On this fire they placed the dried meat, and thrust the wand into the ground between it and the mound. As they did this, they, and the priests within the lodge, sang,—

533
796
[539]

"Smoke for the Above is wavering.
The wonderful smoke is wavering.
Smoke for the Above is being eaten.
The wonderful smoke is being eaten."

The meaning of this song is that when the offering is first placed on the fire, the smoke hesitates and

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wavers, but soon it begins to ascend straight upward, a sign that it is being drawn into the mouth of Paruxti and eaten. 796 [533]

The errand man then made a circuit of the fire, and standing on the northeast blew puffs of smoke from the sacred pipe to the four world-quarters. Then he lifted the pipe slowly toward the sky, and lowering it, poured the tobacco from it upon the fire. This completed the first sacrifice, and both re-entered the lodge, and resumed their seats in the circle.

The chief priest then said, "Priests, this offering is now to be made to the god who presided over the other gods, when the council was held, deciding what the people should have, and what they should not have. This offering of meat and a wonderful stick are to be made to the god in the east, who will bless us, and who rules us aright, so that our people will be under the special care of this god." This god was the Morning Star. The same priest, who had made the first sacrifice, then took the offering out of the lodge, and placed the meat upon the fire where the offering to Tirawa had been made, thrusting the wand into the ground to the east of it.

When this priest and his errand man had returned, the materials for the third offering were prepared, and the chief priest said, "This offering is to be made to the Evening Star, the mother who has made all things. She has a garden in the west, where corn is green, and where the ear of corn is the leader of all men, where there is a bundle of dried meat, and where all good things of life exist. The errand man and this priest will make the offering, and the gods will look down upon the errand men. These gods will help the errand men. They will make our fields green. They will loosen some bundles of meat and cover the land with buffalo." The priest and his er-

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796 rand man then left the lodge, and kindling a fire to the west of the lodge, made the sacrifice.

The fourth sacrifice was then prepared, and the chief priest said, "Now, priests, young men, and you chiefs who watch over your people, this offering is to be made to the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who stands behind the other stars, and who is gladdened by the offerings which we now make to him. He will send the lesser gods to drive away disease which may approach our camp." This offering was placed to the east of the lodge, with those to Tirawa and the Morning Star.

For the fifth sacrifice the priest said, "Chiefs, young men and priests, you who preside over the people, we are to make this offering to the northeast god (North Star), who watches over the people in the north. He is especially gladdened by this offering, and he will look down upon us. Especially will he look down upon us leaders, come to us, and give us knowledge to rule over the people, and we will be happy. Take the offering. Carry it to the north, and place it in the north."

For the sixth sacrifice the priest said, "Now, chiefs, priests, and young men, you who are to receive this bundle upon your breasts, take this bundle into your arms. Through you this bundle was made leader. When the errand men called upon certain gods, and especially the North Wind, to send buffalo, he received our gifts and prayers, and came to us, bringing the buffalo with him. Through his kindness we killed many buffalo, and from them we are making offerings to the gods in the heavens, so in our offerings we must not forget the North Wind."

The speech for the seventh sacrifice was as follows: "Now priests, young men, and chiefs, this offering is to be made to Ready-to-Give. The son of Ready-to-Give stands there. He it was who, when on earth,

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taught us to keep our villages clean so that disease would not enter them. It was he who came to warn our people of the approach of the enemy. He assists his father in sending buffalo. [Ready-to-Give was one of the titles of the North Wind.] He assists the warriors to capture ponies. When we are near the village of the enemy, ponies come out on account of his power. He is called Pahokatawa." 796

The speech for the eighth sacrifice was, "Priests, we are about to make an offering to him who was made by Tirawa, and who stands and gives us light. We are to make this offering to the Sun, Sakura, to make him glad. In return for this gladness he will take care of our people so that we shall be happy." This sacrifice was placed on the south side of the lodge.

The speech for the ninth sacrifice was, "Priests, chiefs, young men, this offering is to be made to the one that stands in the night. When she sees this offering, she will be made glad. In return she will look down upon us, and the people will increase. She will look down upon the land, and everything will be green. Through her all things shall multiply. The fruits along the streams and everything put into the ground will grow, so that our people will have plenty to eat. This offering is to be made to the Moon." This offering was also placed on the south of the lodge, just east of that for the Sun. At its completion the priest and errand man re-entered the lodge, and were given the tenth sacrifice, which consisted of an unpainted wand to which were tied a bag of tobacco, beads, and a scalp. The chief priest said, "This last offering will now be made to the Buffalo Father who stays in the tipi with his wonderful spear, who dwells in the skull sitting there. The spirit of the buffalo skull shall whisper to the buffalo in the west so that they will start eastward toward our village, and we shall have plenty of buffalo.

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796 The women and children shall have plenty to eat, and we shall all be happy." The priest who had made the last sacrifice then placed the wand by the buffalo skull. This completed the sacrifice portion of the ceremony.

When the sacrifices had all been made, the chief priest took up a pipe filled with tobacco and, holding it in his left hand, said, "Priests, chiefs, young men and old men, we have been singing of what the gods did when they first created all things. We are now about to sing about the only being who visits the earth and brings his power to us from the gods in heaven. This power is Paruxti's. It is a long time since we sang the songs about Paruxti, but we shall do the best
533 we can." He told the priests to take up their rattles,
539 and then all sang the last ritual of the ceremony. This
796 ritual was in three parts. The first part symbolized Paruxti's visit to earth; the second, his hunting of the buffalo; and the third, his return from the hunt. The first part was repeated seventy times; the second, thirty-four times; and the third, seventy-four times. At each repetition there was a change in a single word or phrase, the change being of a sort to indicate progression. The first part runs thus:—

"Getting ready to come, yonder he sits down,
The Wonderful Being, my dear father,
Yonder." (Grunting in imitation of thunder.)

At the first repetition, the phrase "yonder he sits down," in the first line, was changed to "He is now sitting down;" at the second repetition, to "He is now seated;" at the third, to "He moves," and so forth. As the song went on, he was said to rise, to look around, to walk, to leave his lodge, to think of coming to the earth, to begin his journey, to travel over hills and bottom lands, to cross rivers, to reach the village, to walk through it, to cross the country, and finally to seat himself in his lodge once more.

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The second part of the ritual was identical with the first part, except that a new series of changes were substituted for the phrase, "Yonder he sits down." The third part was like the first and second parts, except that the first line of the first verse was changed to, "Now he is returning." In the succeeding verses, this was changed to indicate his passage over the country, his return to his lodge, his lighting of his pipe, and his offering of smoke to the heavenly gods.

When the whole of this long ritual had been sung, the priests laid their rattles down gently, and all were silent for a time. Then the chief priest said, "We have sung about Paruxti with his power, who has touched the earth, the timber, and the streams of water. He has gone through our fields, and has walked through our villages, and has returned to his lodge in the heavens above. We will now offer the smoke, offering to the different gods in the ceremonies." A man then rose, and taking the sacred pipe used in the sacrifices, made an offering of smoke to the gods. The errand man then made a small fire of sweet grass in the lodge, to the southwest, kindling it with coals from the fireplace. Another man then took the objects from the sacred bundle one by one, and passed them through the fragrant smoke, returning them to their proper places. After this the participants in the ceremony came one at a time and bathed their bodies in the smoke, the chief priest coming last. When he had incensed himself, the chief priest left the lodge and stood in front of it, facing the east. The errand man thereupon extinguished the fire, and obliterated all traces of where it had been.

During the latter part of the ritual, women had brought in kettles of corn and other food for the participants. As soon as the chief priest knew that the fire of sweet grass had been extinguished, he sang a

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533 ritual to inform the gods that these good people were
796 providing for those who had made offerings to them, and were therefore entitled to their help. He sang,—

[539] "I come! Now we raise our voices for Mother-Corn.
Mother-Born-Again.
Mother-Corn-who-carries-them-through-obstacles.
It is our father who sits in the pathway to receive prayers.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder the Wonderful Being dwells in the heavens.
Yonder their father dwells in the heavens, where the thunders are to be heard.
Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.
Yonder in the heavens stands Ready-to-Give.
Mother-Corn's kettles are filled with corn brought by a child.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.
It is through him that I walk around the circle of the village and call upon the gods to look down upon this boy.
I come!"

As he sang, he made the circuit of the village, repeating the song over and over, and finally returned
796 to the lodge where the ceremony had been held. He entered and sat down, and then said, "Let us, priests, chiefs, young and old men, know that this ceremony is now ended. It is now the time to tell stories and to
[264] eat." The corn, which had been brought in cooked, was dished out in a prescribed way, and the meat was cooked over the fire by one of the errand men. When it was done, it was divided among the priests, who ate a little, but saved the greater part to take away with them. Small portions of the corn, and of the meat and fat, were offered to the gods.

When all had eaten, the chief priest said, "Priests, we have now gone through the ceremony that was given to us by Paruxti. A young boy wished to see this ceremony. It is for that reason that you, priests, entered this lodge, and sit upright in a circle in the lodge, sitting in the places of the gods; that you sit upright, as they do, sitting close together. You sit in their places, and we offer stories and rituals that they

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recited in the ancient times of the former priests, who long ago sat in the places where you now sit. Now, priests, the time is approaching, as we sit in this lodge, for us to move; but before we move, I rise to say that by all the offerings we have made while sitting in this lodge the gods have been made glad, the gods who stand in the heavens. The offerings were made to them, and they received those offerings. Well then, we shall see which one of these gods will send good gifts to the people, and because of this ceremony will take pity on us. It is time for us to hasten and rise. Priests, we must now hasten to rise.....Now, priests, we are going to rise. We are going to walk toward the entrance belonging to Mother-Corn, Mother-of-the-Dawn, Mother-Sunset-Yellow. Now, priests, we rise! We walk toward the entrance, belonging to Mother-Corn. Rise! Priests!"

At the last word all rose simultaneously and passed out of the lodge, and the ceremony was completed.

The description of this ceremony has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, formerly curator of the Department of Anthropology in this Museum.

RALPH LINTON

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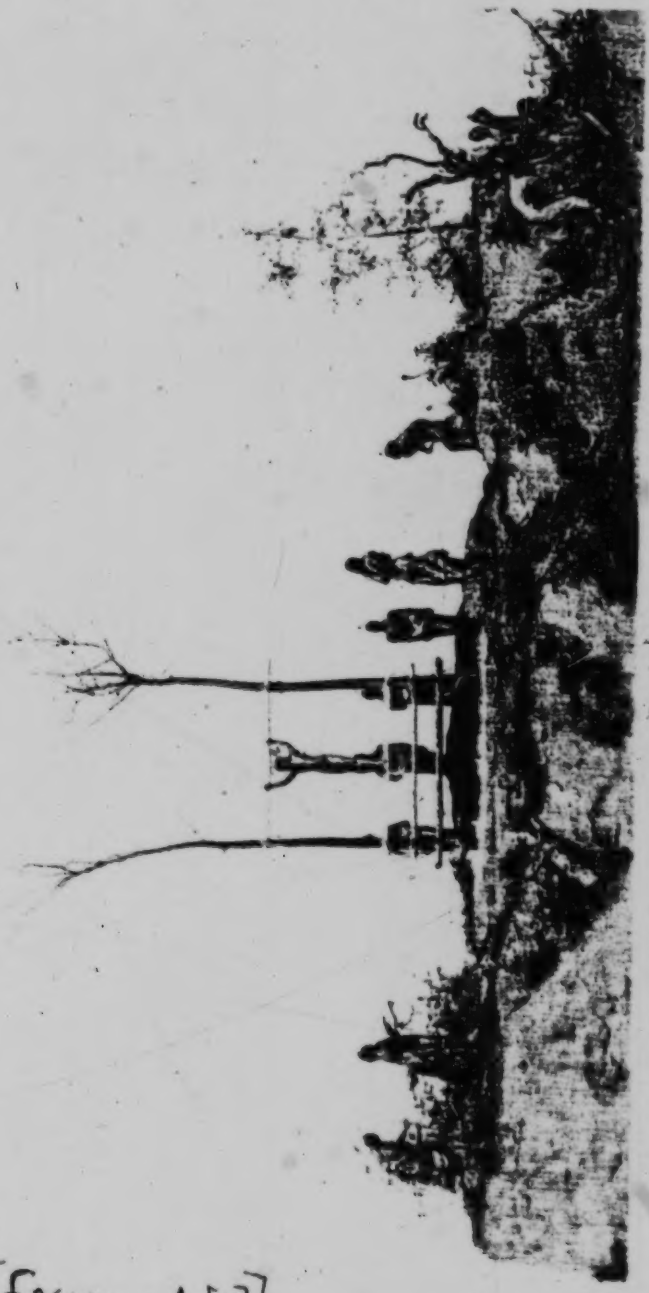

MINIATURE GROUP SHOWING THE MORNING STAR SACRIFICE.

[FACING p. 1 [21]]

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FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
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LEAFLET NUMBER 6

The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee

The religion of the Pawnee was, in some ways, more highly developed than that of any of the other Plains tribes. At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, the creator of the universe, who seems to have been conceived of as a purely spiritual being. Below him there were a great number of gods of varying importance who were divided into two great classes, those of the earth and those of the heavens. The former were inferior in rank to the heavenly gods, and were the special guardians of individuals and secret societies. They were, for the most part, identified with animals. The latter were the guardians and helpers of the people as a whole and were, with a few exceptions, identified with stars. The most important of the heavenly gods were the Morning and Evening Stars, who represented respectively the male and female principle. The first being on earth was believed to have sprung from their union. A fuller account of Pawnee mythology will be found in Leaflet 5 "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee."

The ceremonial side of Pawnee religion showed an equally high development. The worship of the heavenly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were others which were the property of the tribe as a whole. It was believed that each bundle had been given to the people in ancient times by one of the heavenly beings,

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778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
796 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary right to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe supported his action. After this time, the ritual of the [178] sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was [787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of [821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

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made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when it appeared especially bright, or in years when there was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed without any direct intervention of the Morning Star, if some warrior had captured a suitable victim.

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent, of which the following is a good example:—

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave them great power. He gave most of his power to the Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun. The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before

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came to magic animals which attacked them, first snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race.

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles.

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He sang:—

"When he comes.
When he comes.
Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos-

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721 tume and sacred objects kept in the bundle for such
796 expeditions. Many warriors usually volunteered to go with him, for it was thought that the object of the expedition insured its success.

726 When the party had assembled, they set out for the
796 country of the enemy, sending scouts constantly in advance. If they killed any game on the way, they offered part of it to the Morning Star to remind him that they were on his business. The leader carried the sacred objects from the Morning Star bundle on his back.

When the scouts returned with word that they had found an enemy village, the party retired to some sheltered place and prepared for a ceremony. A circle was cleared, and a fireplace excavated as for a lodge. The leader then opened his pack and put on the sacred warrior's costume, and laid out the other objects to the west of the fireplace. A fire was kindled, and smoke offered to the heavenly gods. All then sang a song symbolizing the overcoming of the Evening Star by the Morning Star and how, from their union, a girl was born. In the course of this song the leader rose and circled the fireplace, acting in pantomime the journey of the Morning Star. At its conclusion he passed out of the circle, and standing facing the east addressed the Morning Star as follows: "I am praying to you as you directed, and we are seeking a sacrifice as you wished. I ask you to show yourself." In answer to this prayer the star was thought to shine with brighter light. The leader then addressed his party thus:—

"Warriors, young men, we are now sitting in a place dedicated to the Morning Star. We are about to sing the song that the Morning Star himself sang when he was in search of a woman, who put obstacles in his way. I want you all to dance with all your might and to be brave. Whoever shall be so lucky as to catch

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the girl must call her Opirikuts as he touches her. Others must move away and not touch her. The life of anyone who touches her afterward will be in danger. Everyone must now dance toward the center. Let the fire be like the enemy."

All then sang a song symbolizing the obstacles overcome by the Morning Star, the refrain being, "This is the way I did when I became angry." A red-painted stick like those used in the Thunder Ceremony had meanwhile been prepared, and this was now offered to the Morning Star by the leader with the words, "See, I offer you only this stick with tobacco. It is all I have. Help me to obtain a real sacrifice."

By the end of this ceremony it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise, and the leader went outside the circle to the east and addressed a long invocation to him. He then returned, and all put on their war paint and ornaments. A fourth song was then sung in which four of the great heavenly spirits were called upon to give the warriors their powers. As they sang, the warriors danced around the fire, leaping upward and giving their war cries, while the leader ran about encouraging them to dance harder. At the end of the dance the leader made a last prayer to the Morning Star, and all set out for the village.

The war party surrounded the village quietly. The leader, who at this time was considered a personification of the Morning Star, took his post to the east, with his back to the village, while a second man took his place at the southeast, and was directed to howl like a wolf, as soon as the Morning Star rose. As soon as his call was heard, the leader turned toward the village, and the attack began from all sides. The first man to capture a young woman touched her and called out, "I pronounce you Opirikuts." As soon as this was done, the attackers drew off and started toward home.

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727 The word Opirikuts was both a dedication and a
796 curse. As applied to the destined sacrifice, it was the
782 former, and protected her from any mistreatment. From the moment it was pronounced she was sacred to the Morning Star, and any one touching her would die as from an infection. She was turned over by her captor to the leader and the man who had howled like a wolf, who represented respectively the Morning Star and another star called Fools-the-Wolves. These men were responsible for her until the arrival of the party at the home village.

When the party had arrived at the Pawnee camp, the girl was given into the care of the chief of the Morning Star village. Several months sometimes intervened between the time of her capture and that of the sacrifice, and during this time she was well fed and made as happy and comfortable as possible. It was forbidden, however, to give her any new clothing, as the giver would thereby become Opirikuts also and die. She was fed with a bowl and spoon kept in the Morning Star bundle for the purpose, and no one else might use these. If a man deliberately broke one of these taboos and died, he was thought to have taken the girl's place as a sacrifice, and she was released and sent back to her own people. If she escaped, it was thought a sign that the Morning Star had rejected her, and she was not pursued.

796 When the proper season for the sacrifice had arrived, the chief of the Morning Star village had all the furniture removed from the interior of his lodge and sent two errand men to summon the participants in the ceremony. The priest of the village came, bringing his sacred bundle, and spread out its contents on the west of the lodge to form an altar. With him came his assistant, usually a relative, who would succeed to the office on his death. These men seated themselves be-

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hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his place on the southwest, with the leader of the war party on his left, while the man who had actually captured the girl sat on the northeast.

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such a way that it stood out straight over the back of his head at right angles to his body. This was the costume in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, and with its assumption the captor seems to have become a personification of that deity.

After these ceremonies had been performed, the captor left the lodge and passed through the village, entering every lodge and warning those who were to take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge. Each family gave him a little red and black paint and certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social as well as a geographical unit. Several villages might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space

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796 behind them was packed with spectators. So great was the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 When all the invited guests had taken their places,
796 the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the
796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

[824]

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights. During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

[786]

727 Toward morning of each night, the representative
782 of the northeast village danced around the fireplace,
796 and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

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her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of mind.

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest selected four men from the Four Band village to secure the materials for the scaffold. Under the direction of the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar.

When the men had departed to search for the timber, the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap-

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417 proximately the size of the wrapper of a sacred bundle
782 when fully unfolded. The floor of the excavation was
796 then covered with white, downy feathers. This pit was called *kusaru*, and represented the garden which the Evening Star kept in the west, or, according to another account, the reproductive organs of the Evening Star. The white feathers with which it was lined symbolized the milk of women and animals and the juice of young corn. After the pit had been completed, the holes for the uprights of the scaffold were dug by two young girls.

While the digging was going on, the party sent after the timbers had returned. The two uprights of the scaffold were first erected, then each cross-bar was tied on by a warrior from the village of the direction which it represented. Before tying it, the warrior would recount some deed. One would say, "I made a sacrifice of meat and carried it to the priest on my back. After the ceremony was performed, the priest whispered to me, 'You, young man, have brought meat here by means of the pack string. You will have an opportunity before the summer is over to lasso a pony in the enemy's country. The gods now know you. Do not fear to go on the war path.' I went. We found a village, and others became afraid and ran. I went east by myself and found the enemy's horses. I went among them and found one with an eagle-wing fan tied to its tail. I captured it and rode home. Since then I have made many sacrifices." The top cross-bar was tied by two men each of whom had made a sacrifice, but these did not recount any adventures in war.

It is probable that the scaffold was also painted at this time, although the ceremonies connected with the painting are not remembered. The two uprights were painted red and black, the former symbolizing
[822] day, and the latter, night. The lowest cross-bar was

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black, and symbolized the northeast; and its animal guardian, the bear. The second was red, symbolizing the southeast and the wolf. The third was yellow, symbolizing the northwest and the mountain lion; and the fourth white, symbolizing the southwest and the wildcat. The top cross-bar represented the west, and was painted blue or black and white, symbolizing clouds and rain.

By the time the scaffold was completed, it was about sunset, and the people dispersed. All spectators were sent out of the lodge, and the door was closed. The chief priest then drew upon the floor of the lodge four circles, one for each of the world quarters, and outlined them with white downy feathers. Each of these circles represented a region penetrated by the Morning Star in his search for the Evening Star and also the magic animal which he had overcome there. The white feathers symbolized the foam about their mouths when they attacked him. When the circles had been made, the spectators were re-admitted, and the priests sang a song descriptive of the journey of the Morning Star, while the chief priest danced around the lodge with a war club, destroying the circles one by one. When the song was finished, he straightened up and said, "Chiefs, priests, warriors, old men, I have destroyed the regions once controlled by the mysterious woman who wanted darkness forever. These animals were under her control, when the Morning Star traveled in darkness looking for her. She placed an obstacle in the southeast, which was controlled by the wolf. The Morning Star destroyed this obstacle, but preserved the mysterious animal. He continued his journey, traveled to the southwest, and again met an obstacle which he destroyed, but preserved the animal, a wildcat. He continued his journey, and when he came to the northwest, he again met an obstacle. He des-

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796 troyed it, but preserved the animal, a mountain lion.
773 He went on to the northeast, and again destroyed an obstacle, but preserved its guardian, the bear. In the center of the earth in darkness he found the woman, conquered her, touched her with his war club, and turned her into the earth. The Morning Star then called the mysterious animals to him and said, "You beings are now under my control. Stand in the places where I found you, and watch over the people who shall be placed upon the earth and guard them. All powers you have you shall keep. You shall exist as long as the earth lasts. You are now placed as upright posts so that you will always hold up the heavens. Priests, chiefs, warriors, old men, I have this night followed the journey of the Morning Star. We will not forget these beings which he placed in the four directions, for he promised that they should partake of all offerings which the people made to the heavens. Let us begin singing the songs given to us by Mother White Star in the west (the Evening Star)."

533 When the chief priest had finished his speech, all
796 began to sing the prescribed songs, resting and smok-
782 ing informally after each. Like most ceremonial songs, these were long, with many repetitions, and were often
[211] obscure in meaning. As each song was finished, a tally stick, taken from a bunch kept in the sacred bundle, was laid down. The idea underlying this part of the ritual seems to have been that the girl at first belonged to the people and to the world of human affairs, but that, as each song was sung, she became more removed from them until, when the last tally was laid down, she had been won from the people, like a prize in a game, and belonged to the gods.

The singing usually lasted until about two hours
727 before dawn. A priest then climbed on the roof of the
782 lodge and announced to the people that the girl was
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about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of washing her and combing her hair, and painted the right half of her body red and the left half black. Her skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head.

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting.

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared.

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

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727 They took their places on either side of the girl, and
782 with their brands touched her lightly in the groin and
796 armpit. They then returned to the ravine, and a third man ran out, carrying the bow from the Skull bundle and a sacred arrow made for the sacrifice. As he came, he gave his war cry, and the people called to him and encouraged him as though he was attacking an enemy. Coming close to the girl, he sent his arrow through her heart, and ran back to the ravine. This part was usually taken by the man who had captured her. A fourth man then came forward with the club from the Morning Star bundle and struck the girl on the head.

A fire had been kindled to the southeast of the scaffold, and as soon as the girl was dead, her guardian came forward with a flint knife, and her captor with the dried heart and tongue of a buffalo. The guardian mounted the scaffold and cut open the body, while the captor held the meat below and caught the blood. The guardian thrust his hand into the thoracic cavity and painted his face with the blood. Sometimes
[266] he is said to have removed her liver and given it to the members of the Bear Medicine Society, who cut it into small pieces and ate it to acquire magical powers. The blood-soaked meat was burned on the fire near the scaffold as an offering to all the gods.

When these rites had been performed, the men among the spectators gave their war cries and crowded forward to shoot arrows into the body. It was thought desirable that as many arrows should be shot as there were males in the tribe, and boys too young to draw a bow were helped by their fathers or mothers. When each man had shot his arrow, the spectators dispersed and returned to the villages where feasting and dancing continued for three days.

782 The priests, the guardian, and those intimately
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connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to an assistant who divided them into four bundles and laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then taken down and carried a short distance to the east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766] avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary bodies. Even after her death it possessed life. Things would be born from it, and the earth would be fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded by her powers. When she was overcome, the life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers of victims were immolated every year. It may be

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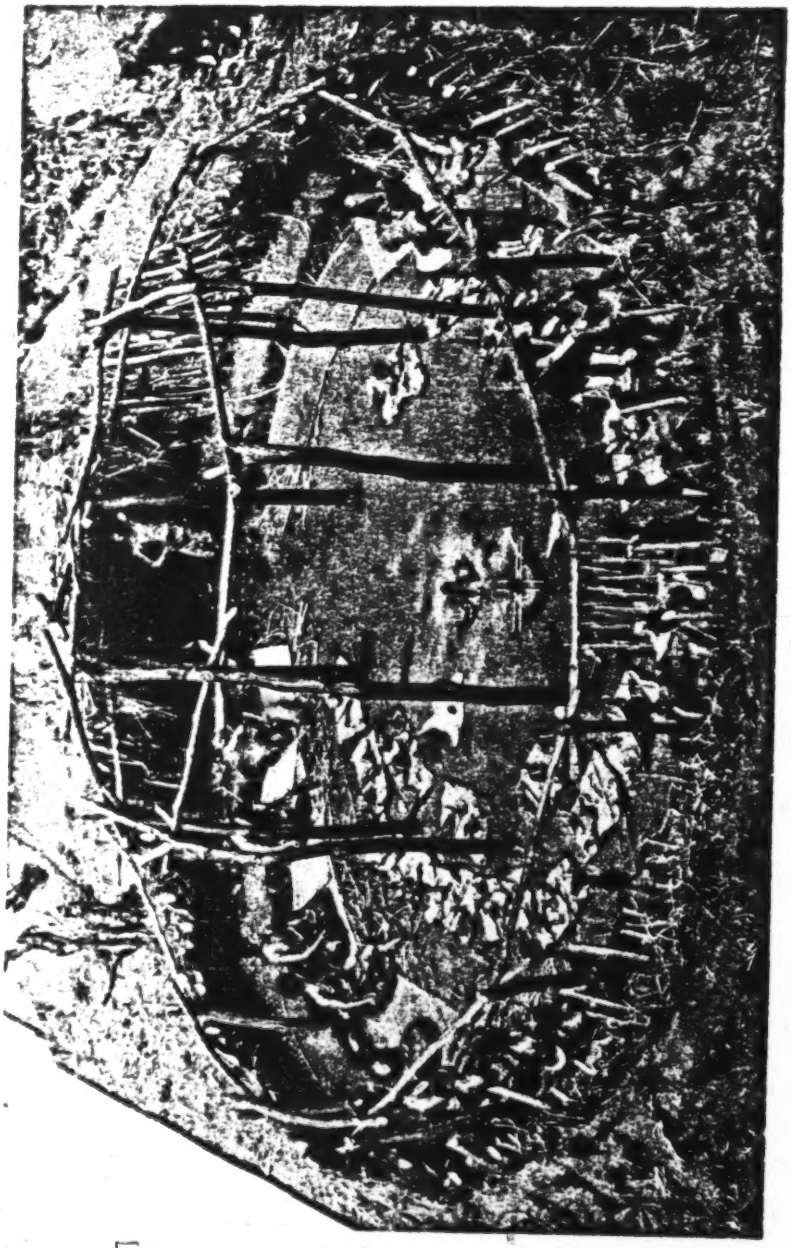

PURIFICATION OF THE SACRED BUNDLES, PAWNEE.
MINIATURE GROUP IN CASE 50, HALL 6.

[FACING p. 1(41)]

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FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
CHICAGO, 1923

LEAFLET NUMBER 7

Purification of the Sacred Bundles, a Ceremony of the Pawnee

796

The religious beliefs of the Pawnee, which seem, in some ways, to have been on a higher plane than those of the other Plains tribes, have been described in Leaflet 5 of this series, under the title "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee." At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, a purely spiritual being, who was not identified with any animal, object, or natural phenomenon. Below him there were a great number of gods of lesser rank who were divided into two great classes,—the gods of the heavens and the gods of the earth. The former were, for the most part, identified with the stars, the Evening Star holding the highest place, with the Morning Star second. The former was an embodiment of all the female, the latter of all the male, attributes. The gods of the earth were, for the most part, identified with animals, and their rank was less rigidly fixed. Of the two groups the heavenly gods were the more important, and were considered the guardians of the people as a whole, while the earthly gods were more especially the guardians of individuals and secret societies.

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The ceremonies held in honor of the heavenly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles or medicine bundles. The Skidi Pawnee called them *chuhraraperu*, meaning

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has concluded that the village bundles of the Pawnee are more nearly comparable to the elaborate altars of the Southwestern Indians than to the medicine bundles of the northern Plains tribes and Central Algonkins.

It seems probable that there was originally a special ceremony connected with each bundle. There were additional ceremonies, such as that held when the first thunder was heard in the spring, which might be performed with several bundles in turn, and there were a few rites in which all the bundles participated. The purification of the sacred bundles belonged to the last class.

The purification ceremony was held in the spring and again in the autumn, before the tribe left their permanent villages for the buffalo hunt. It has already been said that the Four Direction village had four sacred bundles. These took the lead in successive years. When the chiefs had decided upon the date for departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the bundle which was leader in that year. He sent his errand man to summon the priests of the other three bundles. These came to his lodge, bringing their bundles with them. As they entered, they beat their bundles, then crossed to the west side of the lodge, and seated themselves with their bundles in front of them on the ground. The errand man was then sent to summon the keepers of all the other village bundles, directing them to bring their bundles and also mats, pillows, and food-bowls. When these arrived at the lodge, they took designated places around it, spreading their mats on the ground and hanging their bundles, unopened, on the wall behind them.

When all had arrived, one of the four priests went through the village announcing the beginning of the ceremony and calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother-Corn. These gifts consisted of a robe, moccasins, a hair cord, to be used as a girdle, and dried meat

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The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were of two sorts, ceremonies which centered around the sacred bundles and were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe, and ceremonies which were performed by societies whose members had some secret in common. In the ceremonies of the first class, the most important of which have been described in Leaflets 5-7, an appeal was made primarily to the great heavenly deities. In the ceremonies of the second class, the appeal was made to the less powerful, but more intimate earthly gods who were believed to have bestowed power upon the performers. Among the ceremonies of the second class, those of the medicine men were the most important.

In every Indian tribe there were a number of persons, called medicine men by the whites, who were regarded as the possessors of supernatural powers which enabled them to recognize and cure disease. They were believed to have received their powers from some supernatural being either as a direct gift or as the result of instruction by some person who had received such powers. Although they frequently employed sleight of hand and other trickery to impress the uninitiated, many of them believed that they really possessed the powers attributed to them, and performed their ceremonies in good faith. In some cases they combined the functions of a shaman or priest with that of a healer, and thus exercised great influence over the people. In most of the populous tribes they were organized into guilds or societies.

Among the Pawnee, the medicine men ranked socially next to the chiefs and priests. They usually wore a distinctive costume consisting of a buffalo robe with the hair out, a bear's-claw necklace, and a cap of beaver skin. They also wore charms or amulets consisting of the tail and claws of the wild cat, badger, or bear, bear's ears, miniature pipes, and downy feathers,

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539 was in session, they would come in and ask the medicine
773 men to help them, and they would give them a place in the lodge. In this way the society grew. People from other bands also heard about it and came begging to learn the mysteries. The medicine men taught them, and they went back to their own people and started other medicine lodges."

756 The ceremonies of the historic medicine lodge
796 agreed in a general way with those last described in the legendary account of its origin, but there were several features not mentioned in the story just given. The preparations for the great fall ceremony were begun while the people were still on the spring buffalo hunt. At this time the leading medicine men selected two members of the society to make two bows and four arrows. When these were completed, they were given to two other medicine men with instructions for one to kill a bull and the other a cow. The animals had to be killed with a single arrow, but it is said that because of the magic powers of the arrows the hunters never failed to do this. The bull's hide was to be used to cover
[532] the head of the water-monster image, the cow's hide
[778] to cloth the figure of the witch woman. Two more buffalo, also a bull and a cow, were then killed in the same way, the hide of the former being saved to make an image of the Morning Star, and that of the latter, to make nine small images which represented the important heavenly gods. When the buffalo had been
[778] killed, the bows and arrows were returned to the leading medicine men who placed them among their sacred objects.

On the return from the hunt, the four leading medicine men went to the medicine lodge and ordered
[342] that it be cleared for the ceremony. The same lodge
[346] seems to have been used for the ceremony year after year, but was occupied as a dwelling between ceremonies.

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monies. All the beds and other furniture were carried out by the women, and the floor swept. When this had been done, the medicine men seated themselves in front of the lodge altar and sent their errand men to notify the other members of the society. After these had arrived and taken their places, the leaders went to each of them in turn and directed them, in a whisper, to prepare for the ceremony by a four-day fast. Each man, when he received this notification, returned to his own lodge, took his medicine bag, and left the village to spend that time in solitary fasting and prayer. At the expiration of the fast they bathed in the river and returned to the medicine lodge, where each took his appointed place.

The following morning, all the members of the society went to the river bottom to cut willows and cotton woods for the small booths which were to be built inside the large lodge. When they reached the timber, one of the two leading medicine men prayed and offered smoke to the heavenly gods, while the other, after he had finished, paid the same honors to the earthly gods. When this had been done, the timbers were cut and carried back to the main lodge, and the booths built.

The next morning the image of the water monster was made, the leaders assigning to different men the task of getting the things needed and making the different parts. This image was nearly sixty feet in length and encircled the lodge, with its head and tail on either side of the entrance. The framework was made of pieces of ashwood lashed together with sinew. Over these a layer of grass was laid, and the whole covered with mud which was smoothed and painted in different colors. The mouth of the figure was so large that a man could crawl into it, and was provided with pointed teeth, also of ashwood. On each side of the mouth, long, slender willow-rods were stuck to represent

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feelers. The head was covered with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with downy feathers. The image of the turtle, in the center of which was the fire place, and that of the witch woman, were made the next day. The woman's image consisted of a willow frame covered with grass and surfaced with clay. The features were modeled, and the eyes were made with pumpkin seeds blackened in the center. A buffalo scalp was placed on the head, and to this were attached long braids of human hair which hung down to the knees. The figure was dressed in a buffalo robe.

When the images had been made, a ceremony was held by which each of the medicine men received power from either the monster or the witch woman. Some chose one, and some the other. On the day following, they went to cut the cedar tree which was to be placed just inside the entrance. When they found a suitable tree, they formed a circle around it, prayed to it, made presents to it of robes and other things, and finally took power from it. When this had been done, they cut it down. As it fell, they began to hypnotize each other and work sleight of hand. They then picked it up and carried it back to the village singing. As they neared the village, a second party of medicine men came out to meet them, and began to hypnotize them and try to drive them back. The party with the tree were more powerful, and gradually drove the others back to the edge of the village. There the tree was laid down, and all the people came and threw offerings on it. These offerings were gathered up, and were finally given to the medicine men. The tree was then taken to the lodge and set up, and its branches were covered with white downy feathers. That night they made the images of the Morning Star and the heavenly gods. These were flat pieces of hide, cut in the outline of a man. The image of the Morning Star was fastened to a long pole

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and raised above the smoke-hole just before the star rose. The other images were fastened to the tops of the main posts or on a cord running across the upper part of the lodge.

It is uncertain at what stage in the ceremony the altar of loon skins was set up, but it seems to have been after the various images had been made. The sticks bearing the skins were thrust in the ground on the west side of the lodge, and the space between them sprinkled with water and then covered with downy feathers. When this had been done, the leader of the medicine men raised his face to the sky and cried, "Father, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, now stand on the altar. Give us plenty of rain this summer." Then dropping his voice to a whisper and bowing down to the ground, he said, "Mother Earth, the water birds and the water, their dwelling-place, are now upon you. Let our crops grow so that we may be fed." When he had done this, he went outside the lodge and called upon all the gods to give power to the loons so that they, in turn, could give power to the people.

At dawn of the day following that on which the last of the images had been made and set up, the various medicine men dressed themselves to represent their guardian animals and marched, in order of the importance of their guardians, around the outside of the lodge and then around the inside. They did this four times, dancing and imitating the cries and actions of their guardians. They then held a feast in the lodge. That night they once more marched out in procession and visited all the lodges which contained sacred bundles, dancing in each. When they had returned to the medicine lodge, the leaders selected certain medicine men to go through the village once more, visit every lodge, and report if any one was sick. When

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the report had been made, other men were sent to cure them.

The next morning, a number of women were summoned to the medicine lodge and told to go into the timber and get loads of wood. When they returned with their burdens, they were brought into the lodge, fed, and instructed in some of the mysteries. Then they returned to their homes. In the afternoon the medicine men once more dressed to imitate their guardians and came out of the lodge, dancing and performing various sleight of hand tricks. The favorite trick seems to have been to thrust long rods down their throats. They repeated the outside performance four times. That evening they built a great fire inside the lodge and invited all the people to an exhibition of sleight of hand. These performances were repeated every night for a month or more, and it was during this time that new medicine men were initiated.

When a man desired to join the medicine lodge, he told his relatives and friends, and they helped him to gather property of all sorts. When he had enough, he went to the lodge, taking the gifts with him, and approached the man from whom he wanted to learn the mysteries. He passed his hands over the man's head and arms and said, "Medicine man, I am poor. I stand before you a poor man wanting to learn the mysteries you possess. Look upon these gifts which I have brought you." When he had done this, he presented the medicine man with a filled pipe. If the latter was willing to teach him, he accepted the pipe and took the young man into his booth with him.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the booths and images were removed from the lodge, carried down into the bed of the river and placed in the shallow water in the same relative positions they had

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occupied in the lodge. As the procession went down to the river, the medicine men mesmerized one another, and performed sleight of hand. It was customary, before the witch woman's image was placed in the water, for some woman among the bystanders to remove all her clothing and ornaments and place them upon it. When this ceremony was finished, they returned to the medicine lodge, offered smoke to the animal gods, and sprinkled the floor of the lodge with water to cleanse it and free it from the powers that had been summoned there during the ceremony. After the lodge had been purified in this way, the medicine men held a feast and returned to their homes. The two medicine men to whom the altar belonged remained behind to take it down and roll the various objects up in the bundle in which they were kept between ceremonies. This completed the ceremony, and the owners of the lodge were free to live in it as before.

In addition to the serious performers in the medicine men's ceremonies there were certain men, called *kitscoa*, who acted as clowns. They wore masks made from corn husks, rawhide, wood, and feathers, dressed grotesquely, and daubed their bodies with mud. It seems to have been their duty to perform strange antics during the ceremonies to amuse the people, and particularly to imitate in a mocking spirit the serious acts of the others. They were said to represent hairy dwarfs or supernatural beings who had mysterious ways and of whom the people were afraid. Similar clowns play an important part in the ceremonies of some of the Pueblo tribes.

The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight of hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers at-

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tributed to them. The ceremonies also possessed certain social functions, for the spectators included women and children as well as men.

This account has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey.

RALPH LINTON

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A SUMMER HUNT

NOTES ON THE PAWNEES

224 796 [221] IT WAS in the month of July, 1872. The Pawnees were preparing to start on their semi-annual buffalo hunt, and only the last religious rites remained to be performed before the nation should leave the village for the buffalo range.

"*Eh, idadi, whoop*," came from without the lodge; and as I replied, "*Ehya, whoop*," the sturdy figure of *Le-ta-kats-ta'-ka* appeared in the doorway.

"*Lau, idad, tūt-tū-ta-rik ti-rah-rēk*—Come, brother, they are going to dance," he said, and then he turned and went out.

I rose from the pile of robes on which I had been dozing, and, after rolling them up, strolled out after him. The village seemed deserted, but off toward the medicine lodge, which stood upon its outskirts, I could see a throng of Indians; and a low murmur of voices and of footsteps, the hum which always accompanies any large assemblage, was borne to my ears on the evening breeze. The cere-

[PP. 1-11 not Processed]

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monies, which comprised the consecration of the buffalo staves and the buffalo dance, were about to begin. The great dirt lodge was crowded. I pushed my way through the throng of women and boys, who made up the outer circle of spectators, and soon found myself among the men, who made way for me, until I reached a position from which I could see all that was going on within the circle about which they stood.

For several days the priests and the doctors had been preparing for this solemn religious ceremonial. They had fasted long; earnest prayers had been made to *Ti-ra'-wa*, and sacrifices had been offered. Now the twelve buffalo skulls had been arranged on the ground in a half-circle, and near them stood the chiefs and doctors, reverently holding in their hands the buffalo staves and sacred bows and arrows, and other implements of the chase. For a little while they stood silent, with bowed heads, but presently one and then another began to murmur their petitions to *A-ti-us Ti-ra'-wa*, the Spirit Father. At first their voices were low and mumbling, but gradually they became more earnest and lifted their eyes toward heaven. It was impossible to distinguish what each one said, but now and then disjointed sentences reached me. "Father, you are the Ruler—We are poor—Take pity on us—Send us plenty of buffalo, plenty of fat cows—Father, we are your children—help the people—send us plenty of meat so that we may be strong, and our bodies may increase and our flesh grow hard —Father, you see us, listen." As they prayed they moved their hands backward and forward over the implements which they held, and at length reverently deposited them on the ground within the line of buffalo skulls, and then stepped back, still continuing their prayers.

It was a touching sight to witness these men calling upon their God for help. All of them had passed middle life, and some were gray-haired, blind and tottering; but they prayed with a fervor and earnestness that compelled respect. They threw their souls into their prayers, and as a son might entreat his earthly father for some great gift, so they plead with *Ti-ra'-wa*. Their bodies quivered with emotion, and great drops of sweat stood upon their brows. They were thoroughly sincere.

After the last of the articles had been placed upon the ground, their voices grew lower and at length died away. A moment later a

224 drum sounded, and a dozen or twenty young warriors sprang into the
●796 circle and began the buffalo dance. This was kept up without intermission for three days, and as soon as it was over, the tribe moved out of the village on the hunt.

224 From the village on the Loup, we traveled southward; for in those days the region between the Platte and the Smoky rivers swarmed with buffalo. With the Pawnees were a few Poncas, Omahas and Otoes, so that there were about four thousand Indians in the camp.
[221] It was the summer hunt of the tribe. Twice each year the agent permitted them to visit the buffalo range. The meat which they killed
[251 and dried on these hunts, the corn and squashes which they grew
511] on their farms, and the small annuities received from the Government, were all they had to subsist on from season to season. Thus the occasion was one of importance to the Indians. Perhaps only the older heads among them fully appreciated its economic interest; but for all it was a holiday time; a temporary escape from confinement.
[512 Life on the reservation was monotonous. There was nothing to do
521] except to sit in the sun and smoke, and tell stories of the former glories of the nation; of successful fights with the Sioux and Cheyennes, and of horse stealing expeditions, from which the heroes had returned with great herds of ponies and much glory. Now, for a little while, they returned to the old free life of earlier years, when the land had been all their own, and they had wandered at will over the broad expanse of the rolling prairie. Now, for a time, it was as it had been before the cornfields of the white man had begun to dot their river bottoms, before the sound of his rifle had made wild their game, before the locomotive's whistle had shrieked through the still, hot summer air. Half a year's provision was now to be secured. The comfort—almost the existence—of the tribe for the next six months depended on the accumulation of an abundant supply of dried buffalo meat, and no precaution was omitted to make the hunt successful. It would not do to permit each individual to hunt independently. Indiscriminate buffalo running by six or eight hundred men scattered over the prairie, each one working for himself alone, would result in the killing of some few buffalo, but would terrify and drive away all the others in the neighborhood. This matter was too important to be trusted to chance. The hunting was systematized.

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792 Prayers are made to them; sometimes for direct help in time of need,
776 but more often for intercession. Often in the folk-tales it will be seen that when the blessing asked for is some small thing, a prayer is made to the animals (*Na-hu'rac*), but if the petitioners are asking for some great thing, something which is very difficult to grant, then the prayer is made to "One Above," to "The Ruler," that is, to the Supreme Being.

792 Nothing of importance was ever undertaken without a prayer for
776 help, for success. All the serious undertakings of the year, whose
776 success would affect the general welfare, were preceded by religious ceremonies, when all the tribe took part, and prayers were made and sacrifices offered to *Ti-ra'-wa;* and in all lesser enterprises, the individuals who were interested humbled themselves and implored the Divine assistance. A party starting off on the warpath prayed for success and made a burnt offering. Prayer and sacrifice always marked the beginning of the feast, and often its end. Success in their undertakings was acknowledged by grateful offerings to the Ruler. The victorious warrior sometimes sacrificed the scalp torn from the head of his enemy, and this was burned with elaborate ceremonies by the High Priest. He who brought back from a foray many horses, gave one to the priest as a thank-offering to the Ruler. One of the well-known Seven Brothers said to me, "It is our aim, after we have been helped, to give thanks."

The feeling of these Indians toward their God is one of humility and reverence. They do not love him, but they look to him for help at all times. The young are exhorted to humble themselves before him, to pray to him, to look to One Above, to ask help from the Ruler. In the stories which are included in this book the allusions constantly made to *Ti-ra'-wa*—the Supreme Power—the prayers offered and the humility and self-abnegation so often expressed, show faith, profound religious feelings, and great elevation of thought.

114 Among tribal names of North American Indians, none is more familiar to us than Pawnee; yet of no tribe is less known. Frequent allusions to them occur in the writings of early travelers in the West; but only one satisfactory attempt has been made to write a connected history of this family. In the *Magazine of American History* for

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• 796

[For general information on ceremonies associated with agriculture, see category 241; for specific information on ceremonies related to the growing of corn, see category 243.]

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The bands were ill
somewhat socially [illegible] the mainstay of the diet was largely the traditional corn, beans, [illegible]sh grown on their own farm plots and dried and stored as of old. Beef had taken the place of buffalo meat and was prepared by thin slicing and drying for storage or boiled on feast days. Relationships in kin groups continued, and some of the religious ideology survived. A Doctor Dance Ceremony was performed by the last survivors who possessed the arts and the knowledge involved and brought us some welcome rain after a long dry spell. The question was, "How to give these fragments life and place them in their integral context?" We evolved the plan of utilizing one year of Pawnee life in as much detail as possible, covering the round of the year through the four seasons as reconstructed with the help of the surviving Pawnees. Our plan proved to be an effective means of developing vivid recall in Evarts and the other old Pawnees. For a number of reasons we would think of our year hypothetically as 1867; in that year the Pawnee settlement and round of life was sufficiently integral to serve as a base line for our reconstruction. Some of the other surviving Pawnees were in their late teens and twenties in that year. Evarts supplied a normal thread of events in answer to my prodding questions for the details that seemed to a Pawnee all too obvious and we supplemented and checked this with whomever we thought had relevant knowledge concerning one point or another. Most of the old people had worked with me on linguistics before that time.

It was not possible to reproduce the material in the exact order in which I collected it. I have had to reassort the material somewhat so that it falls into some of our own functional categories and at the same time so that it fits within the seasonal round of the year. Under the pressure of time when my notes were recorded I rendered the Pawnee or Pawnee-English in which it was given into the closest normal English equivalent I could muster. Also, this book was compiled a quarter of a century or more after it was recorded. I have avoided altering the original simple declarative language too radically. In some cases I have retained the original language with very little variation, particularly where it is an incident that had often been recounted among the Pawnees, a very familiar situation, a technical account, a speech, a personality sketch. Such passages are indented from the left margin.

In addition to the informant record, I have checked my account in detail with most of the existing material on the Pawnees and in some cases supplemented it from these sources. This is detailed in the Notes and Comments with references correlated with my text. Recently excavated archaeological materials together with eyewitness accounts by contemporary observers of the 1830's and 1840's have overwhelmingly vindicated the accuracy of my Pawnee informants. The most substantial help in this recent phase of the work has been given me by Prof. John L. Champe, author of an important stratigraphic treatment of Nebraska archaeology, *Ash Hol-*

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ized were concentrated along the banks of Beaver Creek, a northern tributary of the Loup River near the present town of Genoa, Nebraska. They had moved to this place in 1859 as a result of their treaty with the United States Government. Each of the bands had its separate location, the Skidi villages in the westernmost position and the three South Bands ranged along the stream to the east about half a mile away. From west to east they were: Kitkehaxki (Little-Earth-Lodge), Tsawi (Asking-for-Meat), and Pitahawirata (Man-Going-Downstream, or East). Each of the bands is said to have comprised a number of villages; for the three South Bands this cannot be documented. From 1700 on, when our historical records are clear, the Skidi were the largest of the four bands and were composed of a number of distinct villages, estimated between twelve and nineteen. In 1867 the Skidi had four distinct villages, Tuwahukasa (Village-across-a-Ridge), Tuhitspiat (Village-in-the-Bottomlands), Tskiririra (Wolf-in-Water), and Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine). The villages were made up of ten to twelve earth lodges, each a high spacious dome-shaped building housing thirty to fifty people. Besides containing thirty to fifty people under one roof, the personnel was likely to change from season to season after each migration to the buffalo hunting grounds. The basic Pawnee household was as different from ours as it is possible for a human arrangement to be. And yet it gave personal satisfaction to its members and within itself produced the whole material and social base for an ongoing community. In fact, this is what we wish our family life would do. Sibling rivalries, partial or total rejection of child by parent or smothering attention, demands on the child for the unfulfilled ambitions of the parents, or overprotection because of resented parental hardships, heavy-handed control of parent over child in a severely restricted social environment—these are ills that are intimately linked with the very physical arrangements of our present family living. There are things about Pawnee life that suggest that an enlarged home environment for our children would improve our lives—a matter to be considered in the concluding chapter.

Even more startling to me than the contrast in home life was the question of political control among the Pawnees. They were a well-disciplined people, maintaining public order under many trying circumstances. And yet they had none of the power mechanisms that we consider essential to a well-ordered life. No orders were ever issued. No assignments for work were ever made nor were over-all plans discussed. There was no code of rules of conduct nor punishment for infraction. There were no commandments nor moralizing proverbs. The only instigator of action was the consenting person. In religion, the regular round of ceremonies that followed the seasons was in charge of a priesthood, but no one of these ceremonies was ever instigated by them. Only when a single person had the call through visions and invited the priesthood to discuss

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796 it with him, pledging his support in food and goods, would the ceremony ever be performed. In all his work, both public and private, the Pawnee 182 moved on a totally voluntary basis. Whatever social forms existed were 626 carried within the consciousness of the people, not by others who were in a position to make demands. As I talked to the old men and women I realized that this is what we wish for but do not have. As they described the coordination of their households, I repeatedly asked when they got together and laid the plan they were apparently carrying through and in what exact terms they discussed it. The answer was always, "They didn't discuss it at all. They don't talk about it. It goes along just as it happens to work out."

626 For example, sentinels were always needed to man the outposts and keep watch for the enemy who might be lurking nearby ready to attack 701 the villages, or in the process of sneaking up on them. Sentinels were neither assigned nor called for by anyone. A number of young men who were friends would be talking together and one would mention that this was about the time the enemy would be attacking. Then one of them would remark, "I think I'll go up to the sentry post early tomorrow morning." Another would say, "I think I'll do that too." Then several others would chime in and word would get around, and other young men would also turn up long before dawn at the different sentry posts. The 592 household coordinated itself in precisely the same way. A remark by one 626 person brought a complementary remark from another, and the plans seemed to shape themselves.

626 Time after time I tried to find a case of orders given, and there was none. Gradually I began to realize that democracy is a very personal thing which, like charity, begins at home. Basically it means not being coerced and having no need to coerce anyone else. The Pawnee learned this way of living in the earliest beginnings of his life. In the detailed events of everyday living as a child, he began his development as a disciplined and free man or as a woman who felt her dignity and her independence to be inviolate. I was often confronted with the feeling that they expected of me a kind of independence and decisiveness that was not considered becoming to a woman in our society. Men and women expected the same clear and well-defined reaction from me, and among themselves it was evident that it was their accustomed mode of interacting.

622 The Pawnees had chiefs, but these were the focus of consensus, not the wielders of power. There was no over-all chief of all the Pawnees. 619 The two major political groupings among the Pawnees were the Skidi and the South Bands, distinguished by a slight difference in the pronunciation of the Pawnee language. The main subdivisions within these groupings were villages and households. The village numbered from three 621 hundred to five hundred people in ten to fifteen households. The real

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were ranged along the bank of Beaver Creek. During the summer and again in winter, the whole tribe left their villages behind and set out on a long expedition to the southwestern part of the state where large herds of buffalo followed their accustomed paths of migration. Several thousand men, women, and children with their horses and dogs were lined up for miles as they followed the river courses on their journey south and west, carrying tents, utensils, and other paraphernalia and a quantity of dried vegetables for their food. They killed some thousands of buffalo on each of these expeditions, drying the meat and packaging it to take home to their villages. While they were in the villages, they manufactured everything they needed both for household life and for their life on the march.

But the thing that made life most worthwhile to the Pawnees was their elaborate round of ceremonies. This was based on a complex philosophy of the creation of the universe and of man and of their ongoing nature. The ceremonies were considered as the means for keeping the cosmic order in its course and the continuance of the earth and its life processes. No ceremony could be conducted without a feast of boiled buffalo meat, and a large part of the meat that was gotten on the tribal buffalo hunts was used for this purpose. Rehearsals for the ceremonies, the preparation of costumes and ceremonial objects, and the performance of the ceremonies themselves occupied a large part of the time, attention, and skill of the men, and from the household itself the women contributed not only the dried meat that they had prepared, but also boiled corn, corn bread, and other vegetable dishes for entertaining during rehearsals and for the feasts.

The ceremonies were more than religious observances. They were the whole focus of Pawnee aesthetic life, particularly in the performing arts. The pageantry and the costuming, the dances and the miming were developed for beauty as well as for religious significance. They were opera and ballet, and the songs were appreciated for their technical and aesthetic value and were sung on many occasions throughout the year just for the pleasure of singing or hearing them. Laughter and enjoyment as well as religious fervor were common experiences of the spectators during the performances, and the performers tried to get a good audience and to please them.

The same Plains region that brought terrible hardships to our settlers, provided a rich life for the Pawnees. Their way of life on the Plains goes back to a very old tradition. Archaeologically we have reason to believe they were in the same area from about A.D. 1250. They appear in written history in 1540 when Coronado and his Spaniards were trying to expand their territory northward from the Southwest. Marquette, exploring the Mississippi for the French in 1672, carried the calumet down the river as a pipe of peace, a custom attested by other tribes to have been originated

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7

THE SPRING AWAKENING

Creation Ceremony—Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—Ceremony of Sacred Corn Seeds—Ground-breaking Ceremony—Pawnee Ceremonial Acts Discussed—Planting Cycle Ceremonies Discussed—Significance with Seasonal Progression Noted

THE PAWNEES HAD MANY TASKS to accomplish in the early spring before the time of planting. Some of them were practical and some ceremonial, but to the Pawnees who believed that nothing on earth could move without the heavens, no practical task could be undertaken unless the appropriate ceremony had preceded it.

The first ceremonial act of the year was to awaken the whole earth from its winter sleep. After their long and arduous travels over the plains on their winter buffalo hunt, the Pawnees returned to their villages at the end of February or the beginning of March. The year began about the time of the spring equinox with the ritual recitation of the creation by the five priests, repeated for each of the twelve sacred bundles of the original villages that formed the Skidi federation. The position of the stars was an important guide to the time when this ceremony should be held. The earth lodge served as an astronomical observatory and as the priests sat inside at the west, they could observe the stars in certain positions through the smokehole and through the long east-oriented entranceway. They also kept careful watch of the horizon right after sunset and just before dawn to note the order and position of the stars.

The round of spring renewal ceremonies was heralded by the appearance of two small twinkling stars known as the Swimming Ducks in the northeastern horizon near the Milky Way. They notified the animals that they must awaken from their winter sleep, break through the ice, and come out into the world again. At this time the Pleiades began to

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796 821 take a certain position. When these signs were seen, then they must listen for the thunder that is low, deep, and rumbling, starting in the west and rolling around the entire circuit of the heavens. Sheet lightning gave warning that this kind of thunder would soon appear. This thunder was the voice of Heaven, and when it came from the south they knew that it was the signal for the creation ritual to be performed.

796 778 821 221 The ritual was part of the sacred lore of the Evening Star bundle which at this time was kept in the earth lodge of Old Lady Lucky Leader. As soon as the thunder was heard, the five official priests gathered there and began their preparations for the ritual. The same ritual would be repeated for each of the twelve major sacred bundles, the Evening Star which they were about to perform, then Morning Star bundle, then Big Black Meteoric Star and nine others. At intervals all during the month of March the priests went in succession to the different households where each of the bundles was kept, performing the ritual to renew their powers. The order for the first three performances was as given above; the other nine, simply as each of the households happened to be ready to pause in its work and to provide the necessary food for the priests.

796 793 [778] Now the five priests were sitting at the west in the lodge of Old Lady Lucky Leader, the Evening Star bundle lying open before them. The sacred objects were spread out on the skin of a tawny yellow calf representing the herds of buffalo. Two sacred ears of corn represented their staple food, two owlskins the watchfulness of the chiefs, hawkskins the ferocity of the warriors, flint for fire and sweet grass for incense; paints symbolized the powers of the different directions of the universe. Each of the priests held a gourd rattle in his right hand, and they sang together of the first creation. Their responsibility lay heavy upon them, for they and they alone must bring the world back to life again. Would they now be able to bring back the abundance of summer—the green grass, the trees, the animals reborn, the waters flowing free, the warmth of a summer day? Loud and insistently they recounted each minute step of the creation and in the trancelike depths of their thinking, the events rolled by before them.

773 In the beginning Heaven sat in the unassorted universe and thought. He sent his thoughts out over space. Then he created the celestial gods to bring his thoughts to fruition. First he made the gods of the cardinal directions—the Evening Star at the west with the moon as her helper, the Morning Star at the east with the sun as his helper, in the north the North Star and in the south, Canopus, the South Star. Then Heaven placed four stars in the semicardinal directions—Black Star in the northeast, Yellow Star in the northwest, White Star in the southwest and Red Star in the southeast. Heaven said to them, "You four shall be known as the ones who uphold the heavens. There you shall stand as long as the

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visions to the first man. She came night after night, bringing along her four storm gods who rattled and sang the sacred songs so that he learned of the creation and could give this knowledge to the people. Then the people went hunting far and wide over the land and they discovered that there were villages scattered everywhere in which there were people just like themselves. First Man now decided to call them all to a great council. He sent his messenger to the villages to invite them. Meanwhile he moved his village from south of the Platte to a more central location northward on the Loup, and it was henceforth called Center Village. From the west came Old Village which was actually four villages in one, each representing one of the semicardinal directions and each with a sacred bundle of its own that contained a different color of corn. They came carrying packages of dried buffalo meat on their backs, since it was a time before the Pawnees had gotten horses from the Europeans. The leader of the four was Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, and the head of this village insisted on being "Master of Ceremonies" for all of them. The Chief of Center Village who had called them together was now faced with a problem, and that night Evening Star came to him in a vision and told him what to do. He would divide the functions of priest and chief, stepping aside and allowing the leader of Old Village to be the priest while he himself took over the functions of chief. He kept the Evening Star bundle intact, but made a special ceremonial bundle to denote his chieftainship. In order to commemorate his creative intellectual powers, he directed that when he died his skull was to be attached to the outside of this bundle. Thus it came to be known as the Skull bundle, although it was also referred to as the bundle of the Wonderful Person, *Tsahiks-paruksti*, "person-wonderful." This bundle presided over the meeting of the chiefs late in the spring as well as over other rituals. When the original skull was accidentally broken, it was replaced with another.

This story of the creation embodies two things. On the one hand it is an allegory of cosmic creation, and on the other a thinly veiled recounting, in symbolic form, of all-too-human intervillage conflicts of the past which were resolved by the formation of a political federation. In Pawnee thinking, these were appropriately combined, for peace and ongoing life came always from Heaven. In the ceremonial cycle of the year there was a careful alternation of ceremonial authority, the first ceremony being that of the Evening Star bundle—the creation; the second, a ceremony directed by the Morning Star bundle, and the third a ceremony under the aegis of one of the four semicardinal-direction bundles. (See Table 7-1.) In this way a balance of ceremonial responsibilities was maintained among the leading villages of the past which had joined together in the Skidi Federation.

After the priests had completed their rounds for the creation ritual during the month of March, the second ceremony in the cycle involved

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the sacrifice to the Morning Star of a young girl that had been captured from the enemy. This was compensation to the Morning Star god for his struggle during the creation. The last girl to be sacrificed to the Morning Star was a young Sioux girl named Haxti in 1838, after which the practice was abandoned. This ceremony symbolized fertility in general.

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TABLE 7-1. *Chart of Sacred Bundle Ceremonies in the Spring and Fall*

The several ceremonies of the spring planting and fall harvest form a parallel series, the six ceremonies in each showing a recurrent alternation of the powers of the Evening Star and the four semicardinal-direction bundles. The first four pertain to planting, fertility, and war, the latter two to buffalo hunting and migration.

Spring	*Fall*
I. Spring Renewal—ceremony of the creation at the first thunder from the south; Evening Star sponsorship.	I. Green Corn Ceremony. Evening Star sponsorship.
II. Distributing sacred seed corn of the special breed of corn included in the sacred bundles. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the summer-direction bundles—southwest or southeast.	II. Harvest of Mature Corn. Mature corn from sacred seeds installed in the sacred bundles, replacing the sacred ears of last year's planting. Semicardinal-direction bundle sponsorship. Changeover to one of the winter-direction bundles—northwest or northeast.
III. Ground-breaking ceremony, *Awari*, movement, activity. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an affiliate of the Evening Star in charge of the ritual as sponsor.	III. Four-Pole Ceremony—symbolizing political federation and control of the country through war expeditions so that they could go out into the country on the hunt. The Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person, an Evening Star affiliate in charge of the ritual as sponsor.
IV. Birth and growth of Young Mother Corn through adolescence to young womanhood; known as *Kurahus*, "Priest." Semicardinal-direction bundle in charge of ritual as sponsor.	

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BUFFALO HUNTING AND MIGRATION

Spring	*Fall*
V. Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs personify Heaven and acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person in charge of the ritual.	V. Ritual Chiefs' Meeting. Chiefs acknowledge their sole responsibility to lead the people to a successful conclusion of the buffalo hunt. North Star bundle in charge of the ritual.
VI. Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and summer buffalo hunt.	VI. Great Cleansing Ceremony of the ceremonial objects. Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast bundle of the four Semicardinal-direction set, in charge. Tribe leaves the village to go off on the migration and winter buffalo hunt.

The next ceremony concerned the corn itself. The sacred corn included in all the bundles was of a specially cultivated breed that was ordinarily not eaten. At this ceremony these seeds were distributed to each of the sacred bundle owners so that the sacred ears of corn could be grown for their bundles. The two "north" bundles of the semicardinal directions took charge of this ceremony in alternate years, one year the northeast, the next the northwest, etc. This ceremony was held late in April.

During the first week in May the ceremony that immediately preceded the planting of the common varieties of food corn was performed. Until it was carried out, no planting could be done. It was under the sponsorship of the Skull bundle, thus maintaining the principle of alternation of sacred responsibilities, since it was an Evening Star affiliate. The outstanding feature of the ceremony was a pantomime of breaking the ground preparatory to planting. The ground was customarily broken with a hoe made of a buffalo shoulder blade tied to a short wooden stick that served as a handle. During the ceremony, the women went through the motions of breaking the ground with sacred hoes that were kept in the four semicardinal-direction bundles and borrowed for the occasion. The action was very vigorous and the ceremony was appropriately called *Awari*, "Motion." The planting was done the very next day after the ceremony.

The final ceremony of the spring planting cycle was called *Kurabus*,

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"Priest"; it was performed when the sacred corn plants were about two inches high and had four good leaves. This ceremony was in charge of one of the two "south" bundles of the semicardinal directions—in alternate years, the southwest and the southeast. The crux of the ceremony was the uprooting of one of the young sacred corn plants, in which the act of birth was symbolized and the young plant carried as an infant on the visionary's back from the field to the ceremonial lodge, where it was attached to a stick fashioned by an arrowshaft maker and painted to represent a person. The plant was now carried through a cycle of childhood and young girlhood and breathed on by the priests to give it life. It was now Young Mother Corn, watching over the tribe. Only when this ceremony had been performed were the women permitted to go out into the fields and weed the corn plants and hill up the earth around them to protect them as they grew. A second weeding and hilling process in the latter part of June was the last attention the corn plants received before being "laid by." The people were then ready to leave for the summer buffalo hunt.

Without this ceremonial cycle, the coordination of the people in their orderly round of life could not go on. While it was primarily a religious frame, it was also of basic practical value since it was based on the seasonal progression. Without it it would have been almost impossible to coordinate people's lives with one another and with external events.

Some of the activities that were necessary during the spring season were fitted into the cycle rather than being part of it. This was particularly true of the manufacturing and maintenance functions, while the ceremonial cycle referred especially to the planting of the crops.

All winter while the people had been wandering over the country on the tribal buffalo hunt the house had stood idle and their clothes and equipment had taken heavy wear. These had to be put in order and repaired before planting time.

The average life of a house was twelve years, but before the end of that time water might leak through the roof and rot some of the radial roof beams. These would have to be replaced, and in order to do this the whole roof covering of thatch and earth had to be removed and reassembled. This task would require more than the personnel of the household. Where the men of the house had little social status they would have few social contacts to draw on, but men like Old Bull and Victory Call were in a much better position to get help from the community. Because of their status as chiefs many more people were likely to volunteer to help. The following section shows some of the social mechanisms involved in the process. However, it should be noted that the assistance given was neither on the basis of power authority nor fundamentally for the sake of gaining social status by association, but rather in appreciation

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THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE

Importance of Sacrifice to Pawnees—Dream of Warrior and Initiation of Sacrificial Ceremony Preparations—Capture of Sioux Maiden—the Ceremony of Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—the Sacrifice in the Nineteenth Century—Its Interruption and End—the Heroism of Man Chief—Aztec Origins

AFTER THE CREATION CEREMONY in times past, the Pawnees had an awesome rite that they believed would ensure the fertility of their soil and the success of their crops. In the creation story, fruitfulness and light had come into the world because Morning Star and his realm of light had conquered and mated with Evening Star in her realm of darkness. Out of that contest, the first human being was conceived—a girl. From time to time the Morning Star demanded a girl in return.

He came as a vision to a warrior in his dreams on a night in the fall of the year. In the vision, Morning Star appeared as a man anointed with red paint, wrapped around with a buffalo robe, his leggings decorated with scalps and eagle feathers. There were soft down feathers in his hair and a single eagle feather stood upright in his scalplock. Holding his war club he spoke to the warrior in his dream: "I am the man who has power in the east. I am the Great Star (*Upirikutsu*). You people have forgotten about me. I am watching over your people. Go to the man who knows the ceremony and let him know. He will tell you what to do." When he awoke and went outside before dawn, the warrior saw the Morning Star in the sky and he knew he had been chosen for the heavy burden of making the sacrifice. He ran crying through the village to the house of the Morning Star priest, singing as he went, "When he comes,

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when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the priest's house, they embraced and wept together, and then the priest filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 773 796 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went outside where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would bless the young man. When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations. [787]

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in [778]

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the order of the procession—the four leading scouts, firemakers, cooks, and messengers.

After traveling 15 or 20 miles, they lay down to sleep among the thick weeds, resuming their journey through the afternoon to a timbered spot where they made camp. The errand man cleared the ground, made a little fireplace in the middle, and the leader took off his costume and put it at the west end of the fireplace where the altar would be in the earth lodge. They all sat around the fireplace in order of their rank and cosmic affiliation, ate a meal, and talked a while; then the leader told them to lie down while he watched the sky and from time to time smoked his pipe. Just before the Morning Star rose, the scouts went out; when the star came up the leader began to recite the ritual, and hearing it everyone awakened and they continued on their journey. At noon they stopped, the scouts joined them and reported what they had seen; in the afternoon, they continued with their journey. Every day they traveled this way until the scouts reported that they had seen signs of the enemy. When the village was sighted, the scouts went all around, counting the tipis and generally taking stock of the situation. They made a final camp in the timber, making a large circle as if for an earth lodge, a fireplace in the middle with the excavated earth from the fireplace in a little mound to the east outside the circle. At the request of the leader, the warriors placed their gifts at the west, and taking some tobacco from the feet of the wildcat skin, he filled the sacred pipe and one of the men was chosen to do the ceremonial smoking to the celestial powers. The scouts made a final check of the enemy camp and when they got back, the leader ordered a large fire built and the ritual dancing began. The leading members of the party sang the songs of the creation: "The power of the *earth* goes through the enemy's country; the power of the *timbers, waters, seeds.* . . ." Others all sang and danced, "This is the way I do when I am imitating him (the Morning Star), when I become angry, when I am imitating him," and as they sang and danced, they attacked the fire as if it were the enemy. At the rise of the Morning Star, the leader also danced, put on some of his regalia, and got his pipe ready, and they set out for the enemy village, the scouts in the lead. In his prayer to the Morning Star he asked that he lose none of his men. At the enemy village, the leader was stationed at the east facing the Morning Star; he sent his assistant to lead a party around by north and another man by south to surround the village. At the southeast the man representing the Fools-the-Wolves Star was to alert them with his first wolf cry, and then at his second wolf signal everyone would attack the village. They were reminded that they were not to kill unless it was necessary, but only to locate a thirteen-year-old girl and pronounce her holy for the Great Star. The one who found her was assisted by the others to bring her to the leader. No one else in the village was to be harmed. The four scouts were to

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drive the horses from the village toward their encampment so that they could leave in a hurry. The enemy would not immediately attempt a pursuit as there was a feeling that this was a kind of cosmic destiny. Retribution would be visited upon the whole tribe later on in a regular war party. The girl was placed on a pony behind her captor, and they rode all day, sleeping only three hours during the night until they approached the village. As they approached, the leader set the prairie on fire to let them know that they had been successful. The warriors smeared their faces with soot. The Morning Star priest came out and led the captive girl to the village and to his lodge.

Now that the girl had been captured the first stage of the warrior's mission had been accomplished. The sacrifice would not take place until the following spring. The whole tribe would go off on the winter buffalo hunt, taking the girl with them. When they got back to the village and the creation ceremony had been performed, the priest of the Morning Star would watch for a sign from the cosmic god that the time for the ceremony had arrived. Meanwhile, the returned war party settled back in the village. The visionary warrior went to the lodge of the Morning Star priest and returned the costume which was replaced in the sacred bundle. Warriors told how many of the enemy they had touched and the war counts they should receive because of this and the number killed. The women danced the victory dance. The keeper of the Wolf bundle was called to the Morning Star lodge to take over the care of the girl who would remain in his charge until the time of sacrifice, throughout the period of the winter buffalo hunt and the spring that followed. He was to watch over her at all times and was to take her for her meals to the home of the visionary warrior. According to the creation legend, the wolf was the first creature to suffer death; he was murdered by the people because of his perfidious conduct and as a result from that time on all living things must die (see below, pp. 328-329). The Wolf bundle commemorated these incidents and its keeper was thought to be a descendant of the original owners. Sirius, the southeast star, was the Wolf Star and it was connected with death. The Wolf man now entered the lodge of the Morning Star priest who bathed both him and the girl in incense from the smoke of burning sweet grass—first the girl and then the man. Then the girl's costume was taken from the Morning Star bundle. She was rubbed with red ointment made of pigment and buffalo fat and dressed in a calfskin skirt tied around the waist by a rope, an overblouse, a warm buffalo robe, some black moccasins, and a soft down feather to wear in her hair. She was given a special wooden bowl and a buffalo horn spoon for her exclusive use at meals, that was also taken from the bundle. It was dangerous for others to use her utensils as the supernatural beings might then consider them part of the sacrifice.

While they were on the winter hunt, the warrior visionary would have

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to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used in the sacrifice ceremony.

Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

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In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood

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appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm, northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

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with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave directions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking warriors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrificial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otter-skin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches

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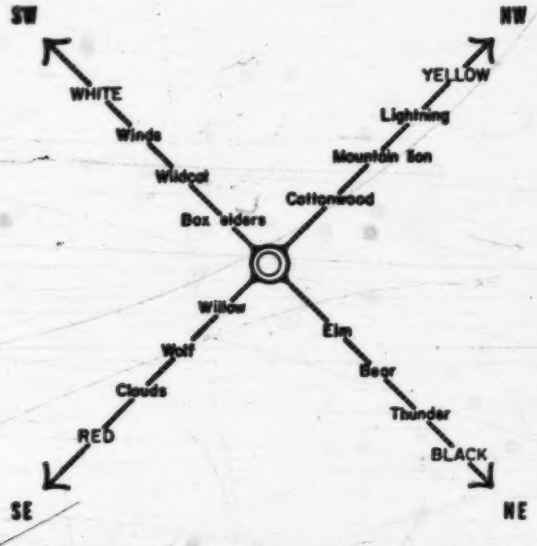
796 782 773 417 deep, the bottom to be covered with soft down feathers. The pit symbolized the Garden of the Evening Star from which all life originates. The pit was called *Kusaru*, which in Pawnee simply means bed.



[82] FIGURE 10-1. Association of symbolisms for the four semicardinal directions: colors, natural forces, animals, trees.

796 773 782 In the ceremonial lodge, the dancing and singing continued on the fourth day. Whenever they ate during the ceremonies, the girl was served, and once in a while she was taken out to walk around, always accompanied by Wolf man. The main theme of the fourth day was the destruction of the four semicardinal circles in the appropriate order as Morning Star had done in the creation as he warred on the Evening Star. The priest, impersonating the Morning Star wore leggings decorated with scalps. First he arose and sang and danced around the north side, then the south side, then back to the altar. He danced around the lodge again and when he arrived at the east he whirled around suddenly and destroyed the northeast circle scattering the white feathers around the lodge, then the southwest, the northwest, and the southeast circles, making a grunting sound each time as if attacking an enemy. Then all sang the fifth song and the girl was taken to the altar to be costumed for her last role.

[822] Her body was painted, red on the right side, black on the left, the red to symbolize day, the time of the Morning Star, and the black to

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represent night, the time of the Evening Star. She wore a skirt and a painted hide robe around her shoulders. Now they sang of the origin of the Morning Star itself that they thought had come from a meteor. They sang to the girl, "You are now wearing the covering of meteorite grandfather," and in the next song, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite father," and then, "You are now wearing the covering of the meteorite brother." They completed her costume with a row of feathers standing up erect along the median line of her head. Her costume complete, she sat down in her place next to the Wolf man. They sang until midnight and then they paused, awaiting the time of the Morning Star. Meanwhile they placed a pinch of tobacco before the altar and sang about flint, the meteorite grandfather and other Morning Star–symbols. Thereafter they would have to address their songs to the Morning Star in the sky. During the pause, once in a while the visionary took up the four direction poles from the fireplace and pointed them at the girl as he had done before in the prescribed succession: northeast, and so on.

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Now the procession to the scaffold would begin. All the men and boys and even male infants were to participate in the sacrifice. During the day, one of the priests had climbed up to the roof of the earth lodge and called out, alerting them to be prepared with their bows and arrows. In the ceremonial lodge, the priest gave the war leader the braided elk-hide ropes to tie on the girl's wrists. He took up the gourd rattles. It was almost daylight. The four priests of the four direction bundles had gone out to dress, each being assisted by a specially designated person to adjust their costumes and to get ready. The Northwest man (Yellow Tent) wore two owlskins on his back that he had taken from his bundle; in his hand he held the bow he took from the Skull bundle and a red arrow that he had added to it. The Southeast bundle man (Red Tent) also had two owls and took a stick with coals on the end. The Southwest bundle priest (White-Mother-Born-Again) had two owls also and he took a war club. The fourth priest, representing the Big Black Meteoric Star (black, northeast) who also wore two owlskins on his back, took the flint knife.

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Now all sang and started on the procession, the girl and the Wolf man in the lead followed by the visionary-war leader dressed in his otter collar, his otter belt with sixty-five scalps, his pipe, and other regalia and the four direction priests in their costumes.

The dawn was coming and the scaffold was ready. Slowly the procession went toward it. As they went they sang four songs. The girl looked around and wondered. The first song said, "She was looking around for just a little time." Then they sang of Heaven and of the powers of the bear, the mountain lion, the wildcat, and the wolf as the girl approached the scaffold. The Wolf man urged her to mount and as she

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climbed each rung, a song was sung about the appropriate animal. Singing they tied her on and then left her there facing east.

The war leader and four direction priests were hiding in the ravine; now the four priests came out one by one. The Southeast bundle man with the burning stick ran out of hiding and barely touched the girl on the arms and loins. The Northwest bundle man came out with his bow and arrow and shot her through the heart. Now the Northeast man of the Big Black Meteoric Star rushed up with the flint knife and made a small cut over her heart. Taking some of the blood, he painted streaks on his face. The southwest man came with the warclub, and he made a gesture at her. The blood of the girl was allowed to drip on the dried tongue and heart meat of the consecrated buffalo, and the priest made a new fire at the southeast, the burnt offering of the sacred meat being made by the priest of the Evening Star bundle. Now all the men and the boys of the Skidi Band, singing war songs, riddled the body with their arrows. Then the priest told them to leave the sacrifice.

The priests now made a final disposition of the body. It was full daylight, and four men who had been chosen to assist, untied the body and took it about a quarter of a mile to the east, placing it on the ground face down. They sang, "The whole earth, she shall turn into. The whole earth shall receive her blood." Then they spoke of nine things in turn: "She will turn into a bunch of grass; the ants will find her, the moths will come and find her, the fox shall come and find her, the coyote, the wildcat, the magpie, the crow; buzzards will come and find her, and last of all will be the bald-headed eagle who will come and eat her."

All the people who participated in the ritual went to the ceremonial earth lodge and there ate a meal of consecrated buffalo meat. The public dispersed.

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In the village there was general rejoicing. Men and women danced, and there was a period of ceremonial sexual license to promote fertility. Some women dressed themselves in their husband's war costumes, dancing around and making fun of the men. They mimicked what they did in war and ceremony.

> They carried the Mother Corn. . . . They would go to the secret lodge, and standing outside of it would tell the story of how they came to go on the pretended war party and what they did while they were gone, what enemies they struck—the whole long story. The people stood around laughing as they did these things. Imitating the warriors, the women changed their names also. One of the leading old women once took the name "Mud on Meat" another "Skunk Skin Tobacco Pouch" another, "Sitting Fish Old Man," another "Stepping on the Heart." The old men standing around joked with the old women and they all joked and made fun of each other.
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> (Grinnell, 1925, p. 368)

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So the ceremony had ended. The Morning Star had received back the first girl to be placed on earth, and he would again look after the people in peace and in war. In the way of the Morning Star, death and life, war and fruitfulness were one process.

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When the news of this dramatic rite first reached the eastern seaboard of the United States in 1820–1821, it created something of a sensation, especially in the light of the obvious Mexican analogies. In 1816 an Ietan (Comanche?) girl was captured by a Skidi warrior in preparation for sacrifice to the Morning Star in the spring of 1817. The chief of the Skidi at this time was Knife Chief (*Ritsiritsaru*) of Pumpkin-Vine Village. In 1811 he had been on a delegation to see William Clark in St. Louis who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region and they had had a long and serious talk in which Clark impressed Knife Chief with the fact that the white people were coming in ever-increasing numbers "like the waves of the ocean—in, in, in. . . . It's coming; every year more people come over here," and that the Pawnees must prepare to adapt themselves. Knife Chief was impressed with the validity of his argument and he realized that their ceremonial practice of human sacrifice was a serious barrier to their relations with the whites. He talked to the people in an effort to get them to abandon the custom, but the warriors of the tribe and the priests, always suspicious of the political motives of the chiefs, were hostile and defiant. The ceremonies were continued and on the appointed day the girl was led out and tied to the scaffold.

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On the trip to see Clark in St. Louis, Knife Chief had been accompanied by his son (or possibly paternal nephew) Man Chief (*Pita-risaru*), and, now in his early twenties, he was an outstanding warrior and universally respected. With the crowd gathered and the warrior ready to shoot the fatal arrow, Man Chief rode before them and told them that his father disapproved of what they were about to do and he had come to rescue the girl or die right there. By Skidi belief, anyone who touched the consecrated girl during her captivity would soon die, for they would be taken by the Morning Star in her stead. From the point of view of those assembled there, Man Chief was thus offering his life as forfeit for hers. The crowd now held off in awe, and Man Chief was able to cut the girl down from the scaffold and place her on a horse and send her south to rejoin her people, which she succeeded in doing.

The next year, 1818, a Spanish boy of ten was captured in Oklahoma and dedicated to the Morning Star. This time Knife Chief managed to call a chiefs' council and he was able to ransom the boy with his own store of goods to which was added that of the trader and interpreter, Papin, and Manuel Lisa. The boy was returned to Lisa's trading post on the Missouri north of Omaha, Nebraska, by the middle of June 1818. Notice of the escape of the boy, along with an account of an additional sacrifice, appeared in the *Missouri Gazette* of St. Louis.

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By 1820–1821 the story of the conduct of Knife Chief and his son Man Chief had come to the attention of Edwin James and Jedidiah Morse, and through them it became known. In the fall of 1821, when Man Chief went east to Washington with a delegation of chiefs, the detailed story of his bold rescue had been published, and the girls at "Miss White's Select Female Seminary" contributed enough money to have a large silver medal made which they presented to the handsome young Pawnee hero at a public ceremony. The medal bore the inscription "To the Bravest of the Brave." The medal was later excavated in an Indian grave near Fullerton, Nebraska, on the Loup River by Alonzo Thompson. It is illustrated in Hyde's book. The portrait of Man Chief was painted in Washington by Dr. King and later included in the McKenney and Hall volumes on Indian tribes. As Man Chief accepted the silver medal, he said that when he had done this thing he had not known it was brave. But now that they had called him brave and given him this medal, he thanked them and would always think of them. After the delegation left Washington, they continued on to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York and wherever they went they were greeted by large crowds and showered with gifts. Originally the delegation had left the Pawnee village in October 1821 under Major O'Fallon and was undertaken with the purpose of impressing the Pawnees with the power of the whites. A chief from each of the four bands had gone.

But despite these efforts, by May 1833 news of a plan to sacrifice a Cheyenne woman reached the Indian agent, John Dougherty at Bellevue, who took five men with him and rode out to the Skidi village. Chief Big Ax received him and promised to try to help him ransom the captive. The Chief called a council of the other chiefs and leading men and exhorted them to abandon their plan. The crowd in the village was hostile, but nevertheless the woman was brought into the chief's lodge. Big Ax was opposed by all the chiefs but one—Black Chief, of rather swarthy complexion. Finally Dougherty, seconded by a few friendly Pawnees, tried to ride through the angry crowd with the captive woman. The people had gathered in the narrow spaces between the earth lodges to try to block him, and, as he passed the lodge of a prominent brave named Soldier Chief, a priest who was standing in the vestibule drew his bow and shot the woman. The warriors took the dying woman out onto the prairie and carried out the sacrifice.

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In 1837 an American Fur Company boat came up the Missouri. Some of her crew were down with smallpox and, despite the captain's warning, the Mandan insisted on boarding. Of the 1,600 remaining Mandans, only 31 survived the ensuing epidemic. Meanwhile the Arikara who lived in a neighboring village in the same locality returned there from the summer hunt and they lost half of their population of 4,000. The Dakotas also contracted the disease. Now the Skidi priests insisted that the Morning

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Star must be placated. An Oglala Sioux girl of about fifteen whose name was Haxti was captured, and on April 22, 1838, she was sacrificed to the Morning Star.

This is the last reported case of a Pawnee sacrifice to the Morning Star. Grinnell and others feel that there must have been further incidents that did not come to attention. However, when our ethnological narrative takes place (1867) it seems pretty certain that no further sacrifices were being carried out. About two hundred Pawnees, many Skidis among them, were organized into four companies of regularly registered U.S. Cavalry in Major North's Batallion. As part of their activities, they protected the crews working on the Union Pacific Railroad from attack by the nomadic Indians. After an attack on Plum Creek on the Platte, the Pawnees followed the Cheyenne to their camp and there captured fifteen Cheyenne women and children. In the subsequent negotiations, they exchanged these captives for two white women, the Martin sisters, and three small white boys, captives of the Cheyenne camp on the Medicine Creek branch of the

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FIGURE 10-1. *Codex Porfirio Diaz* representing scaffold sacrifice; in National Museum, Mexico City, accredited to the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero. From Clark Wissler and Herbert J. Spinden, "The Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star," *American Museum Journal*, XVI (1916), No. 1, p. 54. See also illustrations on pages 52, 53, and 49 of the article.

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Republican River. It seems unlikely that the Pawnees carried on any further sacrifices of captives to the Morning Star after that time.

Aside from the obvious resemblances, there is some documentation of detailed Mexican analogies. Wissler and Spinden would place the time when a direct transfer through the Aztec could have occurred, between 1506 and 1519. In an article (1916) on the subject they give clear parallels in illustrations from the codices (see Figure 10-2).

Within the Pawnee system of theology, it certainly had an organic place.

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13

CEREMONIAL PREPARATIONS FOR SUMMER BUFFALO HUNT

Ritual Meeting of the Chiefs—New Responsibilities of Chiefs—Mythohistorical Significance of Skull Bundle—Development of Original Village Federations—Ceremony Described—Chief of Hunt Is Chosen—Banquet Follows—People of Village Informed

When the corn was laid by in the beginning of June, a new phase in the Pawnee year's round began. Everyone turned their thoughts to the long migration out onto the prairie. The mass hunt of the buffalo herd that was the next phase in the Pawnee year's round would last all summer until time for the harvest in the beginning of September. Would they find the herd, would they get a plentiful supply of meat for their ceremonial banquets, would they be attacked by the enemy, would they live in health and at peace with one another—three thousand people in four Skidi villages and four Pawnee bands—each with its own ways and interests on a journey of 900 miles over the land and across the rivers?

As was their practice, it was the chiefs, priests, and medicine men that took the first formal steps toward initiating each new round of activities through the year so that the people were taught and reminded of what lay ahead. In the village, priest and chief shared almost equally in keeping life on an ordered course, but on the march it was the constant vigilance of the chief that determined the achievement of this goal. And so this season opened with a ritual meeting of the chiefs, validating their cosmic sanction and soliciting the confidence of the people.

The whole meaning of this ceremony was that the chiefs alone were taking responsibility for the welfare of the people on the hunt and that the sacred meat they were about to get was a great and Heaven-sent

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blessing for all the people. These thoughts and feelings were expressed in a characteristically Pawnee idiom: the chiefs were costumed as Heaven itself and were told by their old leader, That-Chief, that they could not look to Heaven for their decisions as *they* were now Heaven and were carrying all its responsibilities for the well-being of the people. In this role they walked from house to house and received a gift of firewood from each.

As no ceremonial could be conducted unless there were a donation of dried buffalo meat, the buffalo hunt signified the entire ceremonial life as well. Lying on the ground in the ritual lodge there was the long buffalo steak that was the customary donation, and upon it the chiefs all blessed themselves. After the ceremony the chiefs blessed their children with what was left of the donated meat as Heaven had blessed their people.

Amid these ceremonial significances, they also took the practical step of choosing one of their number to assume leadership for the forthcoming hunt season.

The chiefs met twice a year just before the tribe planned to leave for the buffalo hunt. The summer meeting was under the direction of the Skull bundle, the winter meeting under that of the North Star whence the buffalo came at that time, driven southward by the cold. In view of the historical events, priests were excluded from this ritual, only chiefs being present, and there could therefore be no ceremonial procedure. It was said that like their cosmic counterpart, the Corona Borealis, the chiefs simply sat around in a circle and talked.

We do not know how many villages joined the first federation, but at the time of our account (c. 1867) there were sixteen chiefs' places in the council, four for each of the Skidi villages. At the northeast was a place for Old-Man-That-Chief whose voice was final in all matters relating to chieftainship. Closest to the exit, one on the north and one on the south side, were the chiefs' errand men, *tarutsuhus*. The chief's errand man had a very important role to play, as he was the chief's envoy at all times. Like the chiefs, he held his position by heredity. He carried messages back and forth between the villages and to the other bands, and while the council was in session he kept carrying its decisions to the other bands, returning with their reactions to them. Both of the chief's errand men were mature, experienced men; the one, Heavy-Trophies, was also head sacred priest of the Skidi, while the other, Know-His-Face, was also a man of some social consequence. Old-Man-That-Chief carried the main direction of the ritual.

The ritual was held in rotation through the years in the lodges of the different chiefs who were members of the council. On this occasion, Eagle Chief of Pumpkin-Vine Village was the host. On the morning of the council he had sent the errand man, Know-His-Face, to issue the invitations to the other chiefs and had the lodge prepared for their ar-

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rival. The sacred buffalo meat lay to the south of the fireplace about three feet away. Eagle Chief sat at the southeast with three other chiefs ranged along the side to his left. They each had different materials needed to help the chiefs costume themselves in their role as Heaven. Each chief would bring his own eagle feather that he would wear on top of his head to represent Heaven itself during the creation. Eagle Chief had a quantity of soft white feathers, *kiskuskawiu* (not down), placed on the head at the base of the eagle feather to represent the clouds on which Heaven traveled while the creation was in process. The chief who sat at the left of Eagle Chief had a knife and a supply of sticks to which the chiefs could fasten their eagle feather in order to put it through their scalplock. The chief who sat next on the left had some elk sinew to tie on the feather. The fourth chief had a supply of paints for painting the faces with the bow-shaped vault-of-the-heavens design. Each chief was expected to wear his best clothes so as to be worthy of his role.

Each chief entered with his tobacco pouch in his right hand and went directly over to where the sacred meat lay on the south side of the fireplace. The meat was the long muscle steak that lay along the backbone of the buffalo, dried and processed for preservation. It was called *kis-atsu*, "bone-lying along." It now rested on the south side of the fireplace, lying at a slant with the "head" or neck end pointing northwestward. Facing in this direction, the chief straddled the meat at this end and placed his tobacco pouch down near his right toe. He rubbed the end of the meat and then rubbed himself in blessing and, retrieving his tobacco pouch, went to his traditional place. As soon as two or three chiefs had entered, they filled their pipes which errand men lit up for them. When they were all in their places, Old-Man-That-Chief began to talk.

He explained to them that in their ritual smoking of the pipe they were to remember that they were now impersonating Heaven itself and therefore they were not to offer the mouthpiece upward, but only down to the powers of the earth, for they were occupying Heaven already. He also mentioned the donor of the buffalo meat that had made the ceremony possible, Lone Chief. He stated that they were to costume themselves properly so that they could go among the populace, *akitaru*, and receive from each household two well-dried sticks of firewood that the people had been saving for the purpose so that they could denote their allegiance to the chiefs.

The ritual pipe from the Skull bundle was then filled and brought to him at the northeast where he was sitting and lit up by the errand man. Then Old-Man-That-Chief smoked and pointed the mouthpiece twice downward and passed it to his neighbor to his right, who in turn did the same thing and passed it to his neighbor until it had gone around the lodge in a counterclockwise circuit. After the pipe had been returned to the owner, That-Chief spoke again. He reminded them that they were to

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undertake their task of chieftainship with humility, for all they had was their own human frailty. He said: "People think we are big men, but we're no bigger than poor men. Look at yourself and see this. Look down at the earth. Power is there."

The chiefs now lined up for the procession that was to go through the villages. Eagle Chief was in the lead, carrying the main pipe, with Lone Chief about two feet behind him, also carrying a pipe. All the other chiefs that were to take part in the procession were lined up behind them. They would carry the sticks as they received them—about six or eight each, carried in their arms. As the procession moved along, they would complain jokingly about the weight. Newly inducted chiefs followed behind, as this was a good time for them to be seen by the people. Before they left, they all had to pass the inspection of Old-Man-That-Chief, who gave them instructions as to their procedure: "Now you're to go out through the village and although they already know when you enter anyone's lodge you must say, '*Rakis* (wood), *tatihaa*' (I came to get), *tatitska* (I want), *rakis*(wood).'"

They had to visit all the lodges in turn. As Eagle Chief led them in, the women would be sitting on the beds along the sides. When he made his request, a woman in the lodge who was chaste would get up and give him the sticks. If it was the lodge of an important man, before the donation was made, he would have lit his pipe and offered it first to Eagle Chief and then to all the others, and each would thank him. In other less important lodges, the wood would simply be given. Sometimes in the lodge of an old chief, the old man would reminisce about his own experiences when he was in such a procession and how some important men had "smoked" him when he went the rounds, and how a woman had given four sticks so that she might have a good word from the chiefs and be doubly lucky. The chiefs in the procession would ask for cottonwood sticks because they were light, complaining that their arms ached and bantering with Eagle Chief about lingering too long over the smoking. "How far must we go yet?" they would ask. "I don't know how many houses!" Eagle Chief would say.

When they arrived back at the ceremonial lodge, they dumped the sticks at the southeast and went back to their places complaining about the fact that they were hungry. "My stomach's way in—I'm hungry! That fellow Eagle Chief is too slow." That-Chief would have directed the errand men to take a little dried meat and cook up a soup in a hurry so that they could refresh themselves. This was just an impromptu meal. The official banquet would come at the end, after all the ritual and business had been transacted. That-Chief would again remind them that in offering some buffalo fat to the powers they were not to raise it upward to the Heavens but only to the earth, and that they were to eat directly without waiting for anyone else.

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796 *224 622 623 After they had finished, the most sacred part of the ceremony was held. They would smoke the pipe and talk of the creation. The old man instructed them and pointed out that they were not to be too eager, but to be measured in their devotions for they might otherwise tempt fate and use up their luck. He said: "This is the time for you to smoke, and anyone can talk on whatever serious subject he wants to—the creation or any other matter. Don't talk too long. Just say what you want to say if you have a notion. Just say a few words. You can talk again. Don't talk too fast. If it's Heaven's will, you will live long. If you talk out your words too fast, you wont live long; that is what we all believe. When we go visiting the Wichitas for example, if they don't give you a gift, that's all right. If they give you too much too often, you might not live long. If you get horses on the warpath, don't go again too soon. You might get killed. Conserve what you have. Do everything in a measured way. Heaven wanted us to live on this earth and here we are. These are the things that Heaven gave us—the corn and other things—and we must take care of them. We can't throw away or waste anything. We can't know what is going to happen in the future. *Raru* (merely, just), *kakirara-kurararat* (don't waste anything)!"

796 *224 622 574 623 The serious part of the ritual was now over and the old man instructed the errand men to begin to cook the main banquet which would be served about four in the afternoon. During this time they would converse on more practical matters, finally leading to the choice of the chief who was to lead the hunt during the forthcoming season, after which the banquet would be served. The old man led off: "This is your time to talk. We're not in a hurry. We have nothing else to do but talk. If you have a story to tell, tell it. We come here twice a year, as chiefs—once in spring and once in the fall. If you want to say anything, say it. I would like someone to volunteer to help the errand man cut the meat into portions." The talk by the others now concerned their leaving on the hunt. One would say, "This time of year the buffalo are not quite fat enough. How many days will it be after we leave the village before we see them? Perhaps so and so many. What do you think?" "Corn isn't big enough yet. Maybe it will be ready the latter part of the month." "Perhaps when we get out on the move, we can travel eight or ten miles a day."

Now after each one had made some remark on these matters, Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge who was sitting at the west and who had donated the meat, proposed that Eagle Chief be made administrative chief of the forthcoming hunt. Eagle Chief replied that he had only recently performed this role, and proposed that White Eagle be chosen in his stead. White Eagle, after due expressions of humility, addressed them. He stood up and said, "Now you have selected me. I'm going to call a

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meeting in a few days to decide when to go buffalo hunting. When we (Skidis) have decided this, the other three bands will be looking to us to find out when, and we must send them word."

The main banquet was now ready to be served and Old-Man-That-Chief said, "This is what Heaven gave us. We must take care of it. Now we're going to eat." The food was passed out in formal order and ordinary conversation went the rounds. One said, "Let the horses race now. Whoever has a good horse will get a good buffalo. This fellow has a horse that never gets fat because he races it. He feeds it all the time and it never gets fat." Someone else would remark about the state of the corn and the pumpkins. Then again, someone would say, "When we get to the Platte River, we will see big grapes and plums and chokecherries. There will be good plums where we're going." Another one would remark, "How are you fixed for the equipment for your horses? I guess you have to fix your saddle so that you can pack things on it." Then again, "I have to get some arrows. I have to get someone to make the shafts. I still have time yet." "I have to get an iron barrel hoop at the store to make the points, and a file to trim them down. First I have to get the blacksmith to rough them out for me. I have to get a lot of them." In this way they reminded one another of some of the practical things they had to do before leaving on the hunt.

It was now early in the evening and Old-Man-That-Chief made the closing speech and summarized some of their findings: He reminded them that they had been occupying the seats that the older chiefs had occupied before them; they had talked over whatever they wanted to say and what they knew of the past, and now they must look toward the future. That they had heard White Eagle who had been selected as leader of the forthcoming hunt upon his selection by Eagle Chief, and that they as chiefs could only reply upon their own judgment, for representing Heaven itself, there was no supernatural power to depend upon. He thanked Lone Chief for donating the meat for the banquet and then instructed them to get up and go. Before his final dismissal, That-Chief reminded them that the meat which they were carrying away from the feast was to be entirely eaten up as soon as they got home, and that it was not to be left overnight, as it might become infected with sickness or bad luck and endanger the well-being of the tribe. They were to bless their children with the meat and then see that it was eaten up directly. When the meat was handed to the wife, as she blessed her children she said, "I want you to grow up to be worthy of this chief's meat. Your father has come home with this meat for us to eat. This is the food that Heaven has promised to provide for us. Now we're going to eat it and Heaven is going to bless all of us. I'm going to bless you; we're going to eat this food from the chief's lodge there. Now we're going to eat it and I hope it brings good

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luck to our house and that you grow up to be better children through Mother Earth." Then she blessed the children and she blessed herself by rubbing her hands upon them and herself.

As was customary, as the meeting was drawing to a close, an old man had climbed on top of the earth lodge, and facing east addressed the people, informing them of what matters had been discussed and what decisions had been reached in the council. He said: "Now the chiefs have had a meeting. Now their business is nearly over. Everyone must go into the fields and try to get things ready. Get the corn laid by as soon as you can. If you have not already gotten your tent fixed up as I have reminded you before, get it fixed up now. From now on, try to get everything done in a hurry." With this exhortation, everyone in the village accelerated their pace in preparing to leave the village and migrate out onto the plains.

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15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

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A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semi-cardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master

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of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night, the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theology of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

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months. Thereafter, whenever a man had an animal vision, he applied to the Doctor Association and was given a place in the lodge.

All during the summer hunt and the hard work of getting in the harvest that followed, the people looked forward with great anticipation to the elaborate performances that the doctors would put on all during the month of October. It was a Grand Opera with a connected series of episodes, combining animal mimes, displays of sleight of hand, and illusionist performances of different kinds, hypnotic acts, songs, and dances. In that summer the people contributed the dried meat of eighty buffalo to the Doctor Association for the forthcoming ceremony and in former times as many as 140 were given. This was one of the prime motivations for going on the hunt.

In the Great Cleansing Ceremony now to be held before departure, both the celestial and the doctors' symbolism was combined, one connected with crops and the other with the wild animals.

As soon as the chiefs had determined the date for the departure on the hunt, they notified the priest of the sacred bundle who was in charge for that season, and he in turn got in touch with the other four priests. They all came to his lodge, beating on their bundles to signify that they were now going to conduct a national ceremony. They took their appointed places at the west, putting their bundles down in front of them and sending the errand man to summon the other bundle keepers to come with their mats and food bowls. They spread their mats and sat in their traditional places, hanging their bundles on the wall behind them. They remained in the lodge for three days and nights, feasting and talking together. Meanwhile the four main priests went through the village calling on the people to bring gifts to Mother Corn. They were being asked to bring the clothes that would costume the chief who was to lead the procession when they took the sacred objects to the stream. Only men of sterling character were privileged to make such a contribution—those who were public spirited enough to initiate public ceremonies, were courageous in defense, volunteered frequently for public service, were generous in helping the less fortunate, did not harbor malice, did not engage in any kind of violence or loud conduct, did not gamble or indulge in sexual adventures in unsanctioned social categories. They were to bring a buffalo robe, moccasins, a buffalo-hair cord as a girdle, and dried buffalo meat and fat that had been consecrated on the previous buffalo hunt. The donors would paint themselves red, carrying their gift through the village for everyone to see as they took it to the ceremonial lodge. After the gift was presented, two messengers went through the village announcing the gift and publicly thanking the donor.

The actual ceremony in the lodge was performed on the fourth day after the bundle keepers had assembled there. Very early that morning

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796 the four priests dug a rectangular pit west of the fireplace to represent the Garden of the Evening Star. The bottom of the pit was covered with soft downy feathers and was referred to as *Kusaru*, "bed." All the bundles were now opened and the two sacred ears of corn, one attached to a stick (representing the male), were placed in the "Garden," with the other ear (representing the female) leaning against it.

[1073] Now another model was made representing the waters and the animal life that pertained to them—the waterfowl, swan, and loon, and a garfish to represent the Great Sea Monster that had guided the original visionary of the doctors and a turtle. These were placed around a wooden bowl containing some water with a clamshell in it to represent the running waters.

Next came some ceremonial procedures that pertained to the specific tradition of the Big Black Meteoric Star. The principal objects involved were the star chart which was attached to the bundle. This was placed on a stick, carried outside, and fastened on top of a little mound of earth in front of the door. Then four smooth stones, thought to represent both meteorites and buffalo maw stones, and to have come down to them from the beginning of the world, were each attached to a stick; four men were assigned to carry them to the mound outside. The "northeast" man of the group was given the sacred pipe and a long strip of buffalo fat. When they got outside, he placed the strip of dried buffalo fat on a little fire, built to the east of the little mound of earth for the purpose. As the procession filed out of the lodge, the priests were singing a song about the men scanning the heavens and the earth all around. They continued to sing as the steps of the ceremony were performed outside. The melting buffalo fat was rubbed on their hands and faces by the four men who were outside; these men also greased the four sacred stones. As they smoked the sacred pipe they slowly surveyed the sky in all directions.

When they got inside, the priests stopped singing and the men performed their devotions around the bowl of water with the skins of the waterfowl and the turtle.

796 789 *224 The next two episodes were acts of sympathetic magic for success in the buffalo hunt. The leading priest said, "Priests, the men whom we have sent to look around have returned. They will tell us what they have seen." The man on the northeast arose and said, "We went out before daylight. We found the buffalo—so many of them that they have almost drunk the river dry." The other three men each replied in the same way. A famous warrior was then selected by the priest to carry the sacred pipe and a chief to carry the strip of the buffalo fat. As they went around the room, first along the north and then the south, everyone reached out to try to put his hands on the pipe and to seize a piece of the buffalo fat, tearing off as much as he could to symbolize that he was starving and was desperate to kill the buffalo.

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Finally they had the formal procession in which all the sacred objects were carried down to the stream. The chief who was to lead the procession was called by the priest and dressed in the clothes that had just been donated. The sacred pipe from the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle was placed in his hands. The bundle keepers retrieved the sacred ears of corn from the "Garden" and placed them next to their bundles. A prominent warrior who had ownership rights to the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle led the main body of the procession bearing the star chart. Immediately following him were to be three men with quivers from the sacred bundles. These four sat near the entrance, lined up one behind the other, while arrangements were being made for the bearers of the rest of the objects. Meanwhile men from different villages had come in and seated themselves in front of their respective village bundles. Two men from each were selected to carry the "Mothers" or sacred ears of corn, others to carry the hawkskins symbolizing warriors and owlskins symbolizing chiefs that were also contained in the bundles. And last of all, the leading chief who was to head the procession went out and rounded up all the little boys he could find—an act signifying his watchfulness over the people. The little boys were given minor objects from the sacred bundles to carry, particularly the raccoon bones attached to the sticks with which meat was removed from the soup during the ceremonial banquets, or the arrowshafts used as pipe tampers and sticks to tend the fire.

Now there was a race to the river; the priests singing and shaking their gourd rattles while the objects were being given out. When they got to the fourth song, the warrior with the star chart jumped up and began to run toward the river as fast as he could, the quiver bearers close behind him. As they pushed out through the long entryway of the lodge, everyone tried to follow, and anyone who overtook the man with the star chart on the way to the river took it from him and ran on until he came to the bank where it was returned to him.

The crowd standing along the river bank now grouped itself into four symmetrical rows. In the first row, front center, was the warrior with his star chart. He was flanked on both sides by the men with quivers, who were in turn flanked by the men with the sacred ears of corn. In the second row were the men with hawkskins and owlskins. In the third row were people with less important bundle objects such as braids of sweetgrass usually burned as incense, buckskin pouches containing red, black, and white paints, pieces of enemy scalp, and other objects peculiar to the particular sacred bundle. Finally, bringing up the rear in the fourth row were the little boys with their raccoon bone forks, arrowshaft fire pokers, and pipe tampers.

The group now parted ranks. Down the middle came the chief carrying the sacred pipe to the water. He waded in and symbolically washed himself by dipping his right hand and then his left into the water, each

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796 783 778 time touching it to his mouth, nose, forehead, and down his face, alternately first with the right and then with the left hand. Then he went back through the group and stood facing the village ready to lead them back. The others followed suit, the men of first rank pretending to wash their objects and their bodies, then walking through the line to stand behind the chief and the others in order. The chief led them back to the village and the objects were replaced in the bundles in the ceremonial lodge. The little boys ran away at once, and the other men retrieved the robes they had left behind in order to race to the water before they went home. The priests and bundle keepers tied their things and had a meal of cornmeal mush that had been donated by one of the women. Then they all took their mats, pillows, bowls, and sacred bundles and went home.

796 783 [203] [515] [343] The town crier went through the town telling all the people to clean their lodges and the streets and to carry all the dirt far away. The next step was for everyone to wash and clean themselves. The priests who had led the ceremony had a sweat lodge built, and one of them stood outside shaking his rattle and singing. All the people assembled there and raced to the river as fast as they could go. They waited there for the priests who waded in and came out at once and went to their sweat lodge to take a steam bath. All the rest of the people—men, women, and children—stayed at the river, swimming and playing in the water.

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24

CAMP 11—AT THE BUFFALO HUNTING GROUNDS

Camp Established—Formal Precision Necessary for Hunt—Religious Considerations—the Council Tent—Plan of Attack—Sympathetic Magic

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AT THIS TIME OF YEAR the main buffalo herd was moving eastward down the Republican River. When they had set up camp at the confluence of Turkey Creek and the Republican, they would be within two miles of the north bank and often within sight of the herd itself. The whole operation now took on a much more formal turn involving the whole encampment. At the council tent of each of the bands that night, a special group of military police was set up to make sure that no hunter went out individually and disturbed the herd, and that absolute quiet was maintained in the camp itself among the women and children as well as the men. Children must be soothed and prevented from crying, dogs muzzled and wood chopping done only when the herd was not within hearing distance. The individual hunter who violated these rules and went among the herd was beaten over the head with a heavy club and sometimes severely injured. The attack upon the herd was their main objective and it had to be accomplished with precision, for they had to be back at the villages by September first when the south star Canopus was in the sky—the signal for the beginning of their harvest.

In addition to these practical considerations, there were religious factors that gave form to their operations. A large part of the preserved meat, particularly the long steaks along the backbone of the buffalo, would be pledged to the performance of their sacred ceremonies. Feasting on the meat was an essential phase of every important ceremony. This was the food that Heaven had sent, and it was fitting that sharing it in a feast should be part of their devotions. The creation story that was 000

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*224 The creation story that was
773 often reviewed in these ceremonies told them how this had come about.
•796 The number four had a sacred significance in connection with the four
801 semicardinal directions, and the combined hunt of all the bands together was conducted in four major episodes.

*224 At the council tent in Camp 10, during their last evening on the Platte, White Eagle and the other Skidi chiefs planned out the strategy of this major phase of the hunt. The chiefs of the other three bands were also meeting in council. White Eagle as the leader of the hunt was to take the initiative. For diplomatic reasons he had decided to give over the management of the first hunt episode to Man Chief of the Asking-for-Meat Band, who were currently "Fathers" to the Skidi in the Peace Pipe trading relationship. Man Chief was formally notified and he appointed the necessary religious and technical personnel, including three scouts who would go out long before dawn to survey the country and locate the herd. Long before the camp broke up that morning they had gone out, and when they found the hill beyond which the herd was located the chief scout crawled up cautiously on his belly, imitating the motions of a wolf so that he would not be detected by the herd. As long ago as
[175] 1540 the account of Coronado's expedition reported that white wolves
[136] ranged all over the plains, living peaceably in the presence of the buffalo cows, so that the bulls as well as the herd as a whole were obviously well accustomed to having wolves nearby. They would not detect humans unless the scouts stood in the direction of the wind so that they could be scented. After the head scout had surveyed the situation to his satisfaction, he invited his fellow scouts to come up, each in turn crawling up like a wolf and taking a look around. In a war party one wrapped oneself in a whole wolfskin with bow and arrows concealed under the arms and tail, but a blanket was sufficient to fool the buffalo.

*224 Meanwhile the people in camp had awakened, broken up camp, loaded
*484 up and set out across the country for Camp 11. Following along Plum Creek almost to its source, the line of march continued overland in a southeast direction until it reached the head of Turkey Creek, continuing southward along its west bank. When the people were about midway along, one of the scouts came riding up to inform them of conditions in
[202] connection with the herd. As he approached, he signaled with his blanket, throwing it up twice to show that there were many buffalo. When he reached the line he told them that the herd was coming up from the river and wasn't very far, but that nevertheless the line of march should continue slowly along the west bank of Turkey Creek rather than crossing to the east side in an attempt to avoid disturbing the herd, and then crossing back again to make their camp. He told them that Turkey Creek was muddy near its confluence with the Republican, as some of the herd had already crossed over and were moving eastward.

*224 Taking account of these factors, the plan of action was as follows.

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They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican they would have to make before they could start north for the Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand man would pick a dry weed, *hawastatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil, and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute, the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent, dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and

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796 437 756 794 forty parfleches had been pledged. After the pledges were counted, the word went from tent to tent and everyone was full of anticipation of the color and excitement of the ceremony. In addition to this big medical association there were a number of private cults that the people generally took an interest in.

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752 726 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped. This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski*.

244 512 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman, and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-cooked meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart, leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu*. They opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus*, with some bone grease instead of the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wandered up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women kept working with the beans.

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512 439 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't keep boys home like that."

512 796 756 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehaxki doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

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bish in their yards at home and then go up to the village. He said the leading doctors would wait until people got all through before beginning as "They liked to have a good crowd to attend the dances." At the gambling grounds the talk was about the same subject. Presently two or three men came in from the South Bands and joined them at supper and talked about how things were going with them. "What are your folks doing over there?" they were asked. "We are working hard making roasted corn. The village is full of fleas. You have to clean it out two or three times before you can get in," said the South Bands men. "Same with us," the Skidis said.

Next morning Victory Call went to the field to see if there was much of a load of green corn left to be gathered and roasted. The following day they went to the two fields and brought them in.

After that a second bean crop was picked from each field on successive days—the vines being almost entirely cleared with this picking. Then the pumpkins were hauled in by all four of them and roasted: one day from White Woman's field, the next from No Corn's. They were all roasted and cut into rings.

About the *eleventh day* they got the mature corn from White Woman's field in two double horse loads—one in the morning and one in the afternoon. They got home about two o'clock in the afternoon, and being very tired dumped the load of dry ears and rested till supper time. Then Old-Man-That-Chief joined them for supper and talked of the old days in Old Village. He said:

> In the old days, an old lady like grandma would see an ear of corn or a single bean lying on the ground and she would be half-crying to see it lying there. Nowadays it's different. They leave things to waste on the ground. If they were roasting corn and they scraped an ear and left the kernels on one side, they would pick it up from the discarded pile again and clear it off. For if you didn't, the corn would talk about you. It was like a person. But nowadays they don't care.

Horse Rider and Victory Call listened with respectful attention to what the old man said. He continued, "You Horse Rider, are two steps behind me, but Victory Call—he is nearly on top (in the middle of life). He will be able to look around in all directions to see how he has come up there.

"A story is like a little seed. From it all sorts of other stories branch off for you. A story gives you life. Now that I am old, people invite me to come and eat good things with them and then they ask me to tell stories. So these stories keep me alive."

Now he told another story of the past. He said: "I heard that once way back when corn first came to our village, a good ear of corn had been thrown out with the rubbish and swept aside. The

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was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic. The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity, Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant "ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four

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With the installation of the New Mother Corn accomplished, steps were taken to shift the cosmic power to the North Direction bundle for the winter. The priest announced that the change was at hand, went to the northwest house post, and took down the sacred stalks that were tied there, giving them to the chief who was in charge of the newly appointed North Direction bundle. He addressed the chief briefly upon the import of the procedure and formally charged him with the office. The new chief replaced the stalks on the post and then divided the harvest offerings that the women had brought among the chiefs and priests present at the ceremony.

Following this ceremony, all the sacred bundles changed their ears of Mother Corn for those of the new harvest. This ceremony was conducted very simply in each case, the usual smoke and meat offerings being made to the appropriate powers and a feast shared. In all the sacred bundles the pipe was turned so that when the bundle hung on the west wall of the house over the altar the mouthpiece of the pipe would be pointing north, so that the winter powers located in that direction could smoke.

The Pawnee year opened in the spring with a ceremony celebrating the creation of the universe and within it the uniting of all the people under one religion and society. Now as the harvest was done, a closing ceremony commemorated their unity and the common defense of their land. The four house posts in the semicardinal positions symbolized the entire world and its peoples. It was under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person and its four special ministers.

The setting for the ceremony was a special circular structure—a low circular embankment opening to the east. First the priests marked out the circle with a compass consisting of two sticks with a long string between; they also marked out the fireplace in the center in the same way. The fireplace was 3 feet in diameter and the excavated earth from it was dumped outside the east entrance to form a small mound. They dug four holes about a foot deep in the semicardinal positions within the circle to receive the posts that would be planted later on. All around the inside of the circular embankment saplings were set up in the ground, forming a screen that shaded the participants as they sat around during the ceremony. The chiefs who were the owners of the sacred bundles sat along the north and along the south side of the circle, each representing one of the villages that was a member of the original federation. Most of them sat on the north side, as the original villages were mainly on the Loup River, only one having come from the Platte to the south. At the west sat the keepers of the four direction bundles as they had originally come from Old Village in the west.

The ceremony itself comprised two major episodes. One was the getting of the four poles, a war party setting out in a different direction for

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796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal places. Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a [292] sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds [302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole [824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. [782] Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the [831] crowd following. On the way in they stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked

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their way and touched the tree as if it were an enemy, claiming war honors and stating that they were entering the territory of the enemy. Then they brought it inside.

While the war parties were out, the priests had prepared the postholes. In each they placed a cake of buffalo fat sprinkled with some tobacco, the fat representing the earth and the tobacco the people. A similar cake of fat sprinkled with tobacco was placed in the center of the fireplace. These cakes were then taken outside and buried under the little mound outside to the east of the enclosure.

As each war party came in with its pole, the priest of that semicardinal-direction bundle offered it the pipe to smoke and sang the song ritual while the warrior danced four times and planted the tree in the posthole. All the branches had been trimmed from the posts except the very top ones. The priests sang songs referring to the appropriate colors connected with the semicardinal directions and each post was painted its proper color.

The next phase of the ceremony was considered its most vital part. The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person now recited certain acts of the creation by Heaven. The skull, fastened to a stick, was costumed to represent Heaven as in the first episode of the ground-breaking (*awari*), ceremony in the spring. The paraphernalia for decorating the skull, including the paints, was kept inside the bundle in a bladder bag when not in use.

Another symbolic object was a wooden bowl filled with water to represent a primordial pond or the waters in general. In the water was a shell to represent running water and the continuity of life. On the shell was placed the jaw of a gar pike, the head of a (thunder?) bird and the image of a turtle, all symbolizing the denizens of the water and the rains. The skull rested to the west, and to the east of it the bowl of water with the objects connected by a framework of sticks on which the turtle was placed with a clamshell over his middle. There were four smooth stones that were either meteorites or buffalo maw stones which came from the sacred bundle of the former Village Partly-on-a-Hill. The turtle and the shell were from the Southwest Direction bundle. The four smooth stones stood for the four quarters of the world.

The chief who had charge of the Skull bundle now stood up with the skull in his hands and, facing the bowl, recited the acts of the creation that had been performed by Heaven. The main part of the ceremony was now complete.

During the following night there were additional dramatic acts. Certain doctors appeared dressed in the skins of bears, loons, wildcats, and wolves, each connected with one of the four semicardinal directions. During the creation, as the Morning Star went out to conquer the Evening Star, he had to overcome each of these primordial animals who were

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• 79% also aspects of the storm and who guarded her domain. They thus symbolized all war and conquest. Dressed in these skins, the doctors charged about the camp, symbolically fighting the people.

[193] [198] The final act of the priests was the "opening of the road to the enemies' country and to the buffalo." The chief who was keeper of the Skull bundle danced with the skull and made certain movements with the skull in the four directions in turn as the priests sang the appropriate songs. Then with loud shouting the people joined in the dance. The way was now ceremonially open for war parties to set out and for the chiefs to make plans for the tribal migration and buffalo hunt for the winter season.

Now everyone moved back into their houses, stored their crops and buffalo meat from the summer hunt, and awaited the time they had all been looking forward to for so long—the thirty-day Grand Opera of the Wild Animal Cults that would be put on by the Doctors' Association. But first the crops and meat had to be stored in the food pit and everything connected with the harvest put in good order.

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some dried meat that wouldn't fit into the rawhide containers, some dried intestines folded up, and perhaps some clothing they wanted to store.

The work of arranging the pit took a group of women in a household from about ten in the morning until about three in the afternoon, with a brief recess for lunch. There was no time in the household when the women were not fully aware of their capital in provisions and goods and the rate at which they were using them. Practically every meal was a large-scale operation and portions were carefully calculated. The men had to be aware of this too as it was their major resource for public and social relations. Except for horses, or perhaps even more important, the main current capital they had was the preserved food. In the forthcoming round of ceremonies, the doctors calculated with great care their donations of meat and how they were going to apportion them.

It was in the light of a knowledge of the amounts they had produced and accumulated, that the men now planned their forthcoming extensive ceremony—the Grand Opera of the Doctors that would last for thirty days and involve the feeding and the giving of gifts to a large corps of performers and participants. For these ceremonies, the cooking and apportioning was done by the errand men, *tarutsubus*, who were regularly constituted officers of the societies, and the chiefs, priests, or doctors had to keep exact account of the amount of food pledged and make their plans according to what they could afford. The food was their most important current capital for the support of their program.

While the implications of this great annual festival were certainly religious, deliberate showmanship was not neglected and the production was well planned and highly organized as such. It was remarked by the informant that they waited until the harvest was entirely complete "as they liked to have a good crowd."

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34

PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony

THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysterious realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate, introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and received a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge, the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. The Pawnee animal cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

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wished to share in the cult knowledge apprenticed themselves to a doctor and gradually learned his lore, adding their own variations in the course of time. Each of the different cults held their own special ceremonies at least twice a year—in the spring before going out on the summer buffalo hunt and in the fall before leaving for the winter hunt. In addition, all these cults were organized into one big "Doctor Lodge." It is said that in the past there were two separate doctor lodges within the Skidi Band that would stage big hypnotic contests between them. They were called "East Doctors" and "West Doctors."

At the time of this narrative in 1867 there was one combined Doctor Lodge with two major leaders, one for the south side, Pipe Offering of Pumpkin-Vine Village, and one for the north side, Big Doctor of Village-in-the-Bottomlands. Despite their location in the lodge, they were still referred to as West and East Doctors respectively, coinciding with the relative location of their villages in the settlement. Big Doctor was considered the more authoritative of the two, which may have been due to personal factors rather than formal or ceremonial ones. Each of these leaders had an assistant from his village to help him manage his side. Sitting Hawk of Pumpkin-Vine assisted Good Pipe and Wonderful Old Bull of Bottomlands Village assisted Big Doctor. These men were both prominent in their own right—Sitting Hawk, for example, being a prominent member of the Bear Cult and a senior member of his family in the chiefs' council. The apprentices to these prominent doctors acted as errand men and cooked and served the meals. They were stationed on each side of the entrance at the east. Theoretically the head men should be willing to give them any information they wanted in return for their services, and eventually they would move up to a position in one of the animal cults in which the doctor had a vested interest. Several subapprentices sat next to them waiting to assume the position of errand man when they should move. Venerable old men who were not currently members of the cults sat in the northeast and southeast positions, further in the lodge than the apprentices. Chiefs who were invited to witness a performance were seated next to the old men still further in.

The bed platforms had all been uprooted and put outside on the roof of the entry way and along the sides a series of booths had been built for the animal cults. The booths were constructed with partition walls of willow saplings and main outer posts of cottonwood logs. Each booth was completely screened in, with a tiny entranceway cut near the bottom of the front wall so that the doctors could crawl in and out. Each cult was directed by a leader who had a series of apprentices and subapprentices with different degrees of knowledge of the cult tradition.

At this time eight cults were represented in the different booths, four on each side.

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On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pumpkin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony. When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the association was attributed to an original visionary and images were constructed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elaborate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

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came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were summarized by my informant as:

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an involved ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals —all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with hereditary status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

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The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors: utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

A major difference between our experience and theirs should be especially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

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brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone. And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their ceremony at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were consecrated accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle.

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

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they ate a feast together. That evening, with a special ritual, it was stood in the ground next to the Bear Booth.

At the feast that afternoon, Big Doctor had given an accounting of how their meat supplies were holding up. Sixty rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat had been donated and these had to last for the whole proceedings. Including the present meal, they had used up fifteen. The doctors had been working for nine days. Two more were used cleaning the lodge of fleas, and, for the two days used in building the serpent, the turtle, and the witch woman, they had used up four containers.

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The question of wood for fuel also came up at this time. As the meal was coming to a close, the north errand man whispered into Big Doctor's ear that he should mention this matter in his closing speech, particularly as a number of chiefs were present at the session. Getting wood was normally the function of the women and now they would have to enlist the help of a considerable party of women to lay in a supply. The two chiefs present would tell the various members of their families asking the women to get wood for the doctors and then word would readily get around. Old Man High Water was also instructed to go from house to house soliciting volunteers, saying, "The doctors want you to go for wood for them." He was cautioned not to mention any particular amount lest the women feel they were being pressured into going. The chiefs would arrange to have scouts go out with the women to protect them. Other young men would go voluntarily and picket on the hills.

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ORGANIZING THE EARTH LODGE FOR THE CEREMONIAL PERFORMANCE—REHEARSALS AND CONSTRUCTION WORK

Work Corps to Prepare Earth Lodge for Ceremony—Fleas Burnt—Drums Repaired—Practice Sing—Meat Served the Singers—Building of Booths in Lodge—Building the Images

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OF THE FOUR LEADERS of the Doctor Lodge, Sitting Hawk had the largest and most conveniently located earth lodge, and it was in his lodge that they decided to conduct the ceremony. The following are the details of the way in which they managed to get the work done and the ceremonial procedures connected with it. 756 796 346 356

As soon as they got back from the hunt and set up camp, the three other doctors called on Sitting Hawk and discussed the matter; two weeks later he made arrangements to begin to get the lodge ready. Like all the others in the village, his lodge was infested with fleas that had to be smoked out. He organized his work corps, first calling in the two doctors' errand men and then sending each of them in turn to bring in another young man to assist. The five had dinner at Sitting Hawk's camp, then met next morning at the lodge and got to work. They pulled up the beds and piled them outside on the roof of the long entrance passageway. Sitting Hawk supervising, two of them got to work with burning torches to smoke out the fleas on each side. The floor was carefully swept and the dust carried far from the lodge to be dumped. Dusty and tired, their legs red with flea bites, about five o'clock they

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took a swim in Beaver Creek and set out for Sitting Hawk's tent where they would be served dinner. Meanwhile, since word had gone all around the camp of what they were doing, other doctors decided to join them for supper. From this point on, all activities connected with the Doctor Lodge would be charged to the "Doctor Fund" of sixty parfleches of buffalo meat that had been pledged for the purpose. At each event the leader stated how much was being used for the current proceedings and how much of the total. At this meal, half a parfleche of buffalo meat was used up and it was so stated by Sitting Hawk.

The fleas would have to be burnt out one more time, and Sitting Hawk had told them that they would allow a day to pass in between and then do it on the subsequent day. As they were leaving the dinner that night, two other young doctors decided to join the work corps. The other two assistants, Man Chief and Fox Chief, decided to relax and do some gambling in the interim, before resuming their work next day.

When people in camp heard about what the doctors were doing, they all talked about speeding up their harvest. Someone would say, "Oh I'd like to see Bear!" Old ladies would say, "Oh, so they're cleaning the Doctor Lodge. Well it's high time. There ought to be a session in there already. When I was younger I used to be a good singer. When they went through the village, I used to sing." Other old ladies would reminisce about old times and about how many doctors there used to be in Old Village, Kitkehax-pakuxtu.

Now the men gathered at the lodge for the second bout with the fleas. Again Sitting Hawk supervised and two smoked them out on each side. The two additional young men cleared off the spider webs near the roof, for they were going to hang the cutouts up there; since they would have a large fire all during the sessions, the sparks might ignite the webs. Sitting Hawk wanted to keep them all busy so that during that day they didn't go off and gamble. They proceeded at a leisurely pace, sitting down for a smoke and telling stories every now and then. He sent his son Misery down to the Loup River to check the condition of the cedars and to locate a straight one about 4 inches in diameter. By late afternoon they took a long bath in Beaver Creek and then went to Sitting Hawk's tent for supper. On this occasion, the second half of the parfleche of meat from the Doctor's Fund was used up.

When everyone moved back into their earth lodges, Sitting Hawk's family had to divide up and move in with others. The women and children moved in with Chief's Road whose house was immediately to the west of theirs, and the boys went to the earth lodge of Comanche Chief into which Sitting Hawk's oldest son, Misery, was married.

While the others were cleaning the ceremonial lodge, the three other leading doctors had been working on the drums and other things. This had been mentioned among the guests at the dinner. Sitting Hawk had

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said, "Now while we're cleaning, it's only right that Big Doctor, Wonderful Old Bull, Pipe Offering, and Old Bull should be fixing their drums and other things so that the boys can go into the lodge and practice as soon as it is fixed up. We'd like the drums to sound good when we get in there." "That's right," some one else would say, "I've been wanting to sing even now, but the drum isn't fixed yet. It doesn't sound good."

At last everything was in order and the four leading doctors moved into the ceremonial lodge for the duration of the ceremony with the two errand men to do the cooking. That night they would have a practice sing with all the doctors who wanted to participate. The two leading doctors sent the two errand men out to invite them. They saw that the two men were appropriately clothed to go through the village, providing each with a buffalo robe which they wrapped around themselves with the hair side out, and an eagle-wing fan to carry. They filed out of the lodge one behind the other at a trot, and as they entered a lodge where a doctor lived they sat down one behind the other at the east with their eagle-wing fans in front of their faces. The appropriate response was for someone in the lodge to whisper into their right ear the question as to what they wished. They would answer also in a whisper that the doctor was to come right away. Then the two errand men would get up and trot out again, moving on to the next lodge where a doctor lived. Their mission did not always proceed with dispatch. Sometimes the two errand men got to a lodge where everyone was sleeping and the occupants would say, "Oh, I hate to get up," but they had to get up anyway and whisper their question and receive the whispered reply. In some lodges there were just young girls about and they said to each other, "You go and do it." "No, you go." Finally one would sit down next to the errand man and ask the question. He would whisper his reply, but not knowing the proper decorum, the girl would call right out loud, "Oh, I'll tell him." All these incidents were recounted in detail when the two men returned to the Doctor Lodge. In some places the people were eating and they made the errand men take a few bits of food before they would let them go. If the doctor happened to be home and was smoking, he would make them smoke with him a while before whispering his question and receiving his reply. Should the errand men meet a man outside the lodge on his way somewhere or toward the house, they would not discuss their business with him but would proceed to his lodge and notify the people there. As soon as the doctor was notified, he went straight to the Doctor Lodge. Everyone knew that on that night they were going to start by singing the doctor songs.

Twenty-six doctors came to the ceremonial lodge and Big Doctor opened the evening with a speech. He said, "Tonight we are going to practice our first songs so that we can send the birds, the winds, and

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756 everything on their way south for the coming winter. I have sent men
• 796 out to see about willows for our booths. They report that there are good trees for us. I wanted you to know that in a few days we are going to start to set up the lodge. Now the leaves are turning yellow and they are falling. This is the way the year goes round and that's why I wanted to tell you so that you can get ready. In two or three days you can come up here and get the wood to build your booths. Meanwhile you must fix up your paraphernalia, your whistles, and anything else you will need. I don't want to take up too much time talking this evening, as we have a great deal to do."

[624] Now he instructed the errand men to go to two of the men who had pledged meat and to bring it to the lodge. They went, carrying a piece of tent skin between them, and when they got to the lodges the meat was removed from the parfleches and placed on the skin, then carried by the errand men to the ceremonial lodge where it was set down near the southeast pillar. Now Sitting Hawk stated how their account stood. He said, "We used half a parfleche of meat cleaning up the lodge the first time, then the rest of the parfleche when we did the second cleaning. Now with these two, three parfleches will be used up."

756 Now the first song was begun and men, women, and children
796 crowded in around the outside doorway to listen. They would say, "Oh,
533 I like a good song." "Oh, I wish I could sing that song." A woman would remark, "I wonder when they'll put in the booths. I'd like to see the Bear." Inside the singing and dancing continued. The men were not costumed but simply painted, as this was a practice dance.

After the first round of singing, the spectators were told they had to
[782] leave. Big Doctor said, "It's all over." This was because they were now going to make their ceremonial smoke offerings to the powers and outsiders could not be permitted to witness this. Some doctors refrained from singing in the first round altogether because they wanted to keep their songs from the public.

756 At the west were sitting the four leading doctors with their wives sit-
796 ting directly behind them. On each side, along the north and south, the rest of the doctors were ranged. At the east ends on each side were eight chiefs, two from each of the four villages, viz., at the southeast, two from Village-across-a-Ridge and two from Pumpkin-Vine, and at the northeast, two chiefs from Bottomlands Village and two from Wolf-in-Water. Beyond these at the southeast were the old men, and an errand man at each side.

In the interim between the first and second round of singing, one of the eight chiefs got up and spoke on behalf of all of them. The doctors on their part spoke and said, "The echo of the drum drives back sickness when it comes."

[533] The singing alternated between the sides, first on the north and then

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on the south. When they had gone halfway down the line, Big Doctor appointed someone to get up and cut the meat into portions while the errand man put up the water to boil. As the singing continued, the errand man finally announced that the meat was all cooked and a spread was laid down east of the fireplace and 43 portions were set out for the singers. It was midnight or later when the singing was over and the four drums and a number of gourd rattles were brought back to Big Doctor. He made a brief speech: "Now in three days we are going to get the wood for our booths. We must look to the future and make our plans. Now we are going to eat." Then he appointed two men for each side to do the serving of the meat. One portion was sent to the house where Sitting Hawk's wife was staying, "for the lodge." Before they could eat, an offering of meat and fat was made to the spirits in the significant directions of the universe. When the offering was completed, all said, "Nawa."

One more matter had to be attended to before the meat could finally be served. The meat was arranged on the spread according to where the people were sitting, and a stick was placed in the middle to act as a divider between the north and south halves. The pieces of meat were of two different sizes, some particularly large and some of ordinary proportions. Big Doctor asked Sitting Hawk to see that the special portions were placed in position so that they would be properly assigned. There were to be special portions for the four doctors at the west and their wives, for the eight chiefs, the two errand men, one each for the person sitting at the north on behalf of the North Star and at the south on behalf of the South Star, and for the four men who had been specially appointed to do the serving. Three or four extra pieces were set aside for possible mistakes in the count; if no mistakes had been made, these extra portions were placed on top of those that had already been set out for the chiefs. The smaller-size pieces were set out for the rest of the people. The meat was passed out in formal order and then the soup, in the same way. The feast this time consisted of meat and soup only.

By now it was extremely late and Big Doctor made some very brief closing remarks. He said, "Now we know what we have to do (viz., come back in three days and get wood for the booths). Now we have eaten. Now we can go." All got up and went home. It would take six or seven days more before the dance preparations were complete.

The next stage in their preparations was the building of the booths and other structures in the ceremonial lodge. As announced, this would be three days after the practice sing. On the appointed morning before daybreak, Big Doctor told the errand men to go to certain specified lodges and get four parfleches of dried buffalo meat that had been pledged so that they could have their feast that evening. The four donors had already been alerted at the previous meeting.

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756 796 824 The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver, and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure. When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each, [533] and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him: "Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

756 796 824 276 782 They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the timber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the unlit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

756 796 824 Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

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stand at the west. After the smoke offerings, he made a series of cuts in the tree at the four cardinal points in the standard order—first at the west, then north, then east and then south, cutting it so that it would fall gently to the east where two men were standing to catch it so that the limbs would not break. They sharpened it at the stub end so that it would stand up in the lodge. All chips were gathered and either thrown into the creek or carried home and burned in the fire. After gathering as many willow saplings as they could carry, the procession for the Doctor Lodge set out with Sitting Hawk in the lead and two men each carrying the six cottonwoods, one at each end of the tree.

Halfway home, they stopped. They began to make animal motions and to try to hypnotize one another (*patsaku*, "shoot one another"). Some of them had their buffalo robes on, some did not. They made peculiar motions with their eagle-wing fans, touching the ground. Then some were knocked down and got up growling and grunting. One of them "hypnotized" another by trying to put a corn cob in his throat, making his mouth all bloody. Another attempted to put fish bones in someone's throat, with the same result. The victims vomited up these things without too much damage being done and continued to move along with the cottonwoods. When the little boys saw this they got excited and said, "Look at those fellows! Look at that big bear over there!" As they arrived at the village, they made a second stop and again hypnotized each other. Then they took up the trees once more and went toward the ceremonial lodge. As they were arriving, Big Doctor took up his gourd rattle and began to sing. They came in and when the singing was over, Sitting Hawk gave the pipe back to Pipe Offering at the west. The cottonwood that had been ceremonially gathered was carefully placed to the east of the fireplace with its stub end pointing west and the head end eastward toward the exit. The second "west" tree was placed in the same position beside it and the others in any order on the ground, nearer the entrance. Now Big Doctor, getting the pipe from Pipe Offering, smoked all the trees ceremonially, treating each one in turn as in the woods.

They could now proceed to build the booths. Meanwhile, the errand men did the cooking. First the six cottonwoods were erected, three on each side. Then the willow partitions and fronts were added. Everyone was arguing—"This is our lot; move over a bit." "Well, we have a lot of buffalo!" "Well, we have a lot of deer too!" The leaders stood on the inside directing the apprentices who were doing their work. The willows were all piled up on the north side of the entrance while they proceed with the job. At the southeast the errand men were preparing the kettle so that they could cook their meat. They had had nothing to eat all day. The wives of the four leading doctors had brought in four buckets of boiled dried corn kernels and set them down on either side of

the southeast lodge pole. Sometimes a woman would come in and give the "boss" of one of the animal booths a gift of corn bread so that later on during the performance they would be permitted to sit near the booth and get a better view instead of crowding in at the entryway.

When the food was ready, Big Doctor spoke and told them they were going to interrupt their activity and eat now, and that they could resume their work later. He said that he himself would make the offering to the powers with the corn and save time. The errand men were instructed to distribute the food.

The meal over, Big Doctor said, "Now we have eaten. Now you can go and tend to anything you want to. But after that, return here and get back to work!" They went off home to take their extra dry meat to their families, to tend their horses, and to take a little rest before going on with the work in the evening. The four main doctors did not linger long away from the ceremonial lodge. They had to fix up the gourd rattles, drums, and other things. Old-Man-That-Chief who has elk (*pax*) power was too old to wander about. If he should want to go home, someone must lead him. Most of the time he remained in the lodge throughout the ceremonial period.

That night and the next they built the serpent, the witch, and the turtle. They worked at night when they would not be observed. The serpent would take a whole night, the witch and the turtle perhaps another night. They had to bring in quantities of clay from the river bottom to do all this modeling. Twelve of them did the modeling—the four doctors at the west, and Old Bull and also the son of the subleader at the north, Wonderful Old Bison; the son of Sitting Hawk, Misery; also Angry Horse of the Bear Lodge. Bringing Horses was called in by Pipe Offering to assist him. On the next night, after the serpent was done they divided up, six working on the witch woman and six on the turtle-fireplace. Then the skin cutouts of the celestial powers were hung in place and the two loon skins put before the altar. Finally they were to set out for the cedar tree. They followed the same kind of procedure as for the cottonwoods, except that only one tree was obtained on this occasion.

A suitable cedar had been spotted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy on the Loup River, and before sunrise the next day a party of twenty doctors led by Strikes-the-Enemy set out to cut it down and bring it back to the lodge. Symbolically the cedar represented the Bear whose celestial affiliation was with the sun and the moon. The cottonwood symbolized the Beaver and the waters of the earth. Strikes-the-Enemy led the party, carrying a bear-hide rattle. On the return journey, they stopped half way and had a hypnotic contest as described in Chapter 34.

When the party reached within four feet of the lodge, they halted and

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Big Doctor prepared to receive them and the tree on behalf of the Doctor Lodge. At his signal they came inside carrying the tree, stub end forward, and walked around the fireplace four times through south, west, north, and east where they stopped and placed the tree with its stub end touching the rim of the fireplace and its head end pointing toward the entrance at the east.

Pipe Offering made the offering of tobacco, smoke, and ashes with the sacred pipe to the three vital parts of the tree—the base, the middle, and the top as they had previously done with the cottonwoods. Meanwhile the errand men were sent outside to start to boil the dried buffalo meat for their feast.

All this time the other doctors had remained inside their respective booths, only the officials of the Doctor Lodge conducting the smoke offering ceremony. These included the four doctors at the west, one doctor each at the north and at the south, one old man (*kurahus*) each, at the northeast and the southeast, and the two errand men, one on each side of the entrance way.

Now that the cedar tree had been brought into the lodge and received, it was time for all of them to eat. The doctors all came out of their booths and sat right down on the serpent as there was no other place to sit between the booths and the fireplace. Three buckets of boiled corn kernels had been donated and these constituted the first course of their banquet. As always, they had to share the food with the supernatural powers before it could be eaten by the people, and the serving followed an order that was determined by the particular powers they had called on for the occasion. After eating, the ceremony to stand the cedar in its place was performed and then anyone who wanted to could go home.

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THE WOMEN GET WOOD FOR THE DOCTORS

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Women Volunteer to Get Wood—Women Invited to Entertainment and Feast at Doctor Lodge —Quartz Crystal Sleight of Hand

756 -796 313 462 When Old-Man-High-Water went around the village notifying the women, he told them to meet outside the village and that two men would go along to protect them. Meanwhile Eagle Chief had sent one of his wives to ask Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy to take over this task. They knew they would be asked and they were all ready to go. They were given instructions to lead the women south of the creek rather than to the west where the enemy was likely to be lurking. As the women started for the appointed meeting place, other men set out for the surrounding hills to picket.

[482] Twenty women had volunteered. There was a standard backload of wood that the women usually carried (¼ cord or 2 cubic feet—2 armloads; eight armloads = 1 cord or 4 backloads). For each night that the doctors performed, they would need four backloads. Besides their preparations during the current week, the doctors were likely to give five performances, so that the women have to go on three more such expeditions to keep them supplied.

While the women were in the timber cutting the wood, the two scouts were standing on a hill watching them closely. Some women were saying, "Don't take too much. Take a light load. There are a lot of us." As one woman would get loaded up, she would stand aside and wait for the others. Finally when most of them had gathered, the men called out, "All of you here yet?"

One was found to be missing and when she finally emerged they all

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lined up one behind the other and set out for the village. As they approached, people were watching from the housetops, saying, "They're coming with wood." A ridge ran east and west above the village and the women sat down there to rest before coming in. They were wishing they could take a bath in the lake beside the road. "Have you rested enough?" asked Roaming Scout. "Yes." "Come on, then." When they had gone halfway into the village, their scouts left them and went home and the women proceeded to the Doctor Lodge where they dumped the wood, some of it inside and some outside to the north of the door. Big Doctor said, "Now you ladies go home and change your clothes. Dress up in your best. Paint your cheeks and then come back because you are going to have a feast. Tell those two men who went with you to dress up and come. Who were they?" "Running Scout and Won't-Run-from-the-Enemy?" "All right."

By about three or four in the afternoon, the children who were waiting around to see everything sighted the line of women with the two men in the lead going to the Doctor Lodge. The women were carrying their wooden bowls and buffalo-horn spoons. They were seated along the north side of the lodge, the two men at the western end of the line. Wonderful Old Bull of the north side was doing the honors for the four main doctors. The wives of the doctors had contributed four buckets of boiled corn which were now brought in and the meat was given by one of the designated donors. An offering of corn was made to all the objects in the lodge, and it was served to the guests. After the second helping some of the women were patting their stomachs and saying, "My, I ate too much!" Those with more foresight had brought a bucket along to take the extra food home.

All the doctors except the four at the west remained in their booths. In anticipation of the forthcoming entertainment, some were calling out, "I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of that good-looking woman over there!" The women, who were apt to be shy on such occasions, were whispering among themselves instead of speaking out as the men usually did. The three big doctors at the west supplied the talk. "That one—I'm going to take a quartz crystal out of her!" "No you won't. That's the one I want." While they were eating the corn, twenty-two pieces of the cooked meat were spread out on a tent skin ready to be served, and as the women finished their corn they were served soup in their bowls. Wonderful Old Bull, representing all the head doctors, served them with the meat. Finally the dishes and pots were cleared away, the women put their bowls behind their backs, and the entertainment began.

At the west, Wonderful Old Bull and Sitting Hawk began to drum and sing doctor songs, while the doctors in different booths made all sorts of animal sounds. The little boys ran in to see what was going on. They were saying, "Now they're taking their quartz crystals." At this juncture,

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the two head doctors got up and danced facing the booths—Big Doctor down the north side and Pipe Offering down the south side. Each doctor carried a gourd rattle in his left hand, an eagle-wing fan in the right and as they went along the side they said, "Hu', hu', hu'," to signify that they were bent on hypnotizing. They passed along their booths from west to east and then back again.

Now the two doctors set out from the west again, Big Doctor in the lead and Pipe Offering behind him. They moved very carefully inside the serpent, making sure their feet did not touch it. When they arrived in front of the women sitting along the north side, they made odd motions and Big Doctor fell over. When he came out of his daze he patted his hand on his stomach, passing it up toward his throat and the quartz crystal came out of his mouth. Then Pipe Offering did the same and the two doctors went back to their place at the west. Now the other doctors all came out of their booths in a bunch, rolling and writhing, and they took the crystals out of the women. Old-Man-That-Chief who was blind asked to be led in front of an old woman and he took a crystal out of her.

By this time it was five-thirty and Big Doctor made his closing speech, stating that they had seen their "romping and playing" and now the show was over. They had shared a feast together and now all got up and left, including the spectators. On the way out everyone was laughing at Old-Man-That-Chief taking a crystal out of an old lady.

The doctors put away their "quartz crystal" paraphernalia and discussed plans for the forthcoming performance. Big Doctor said, "The day after tomorrow, in the evening, Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance. Tomorrow evening we doctors are all going to parade through the village. Anyone who wants to take part in the performance to be given the day after tomorrow, ought to get everything ready!" The big public performances were now about to begin.

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THE BIG DOCTOR PERFORMANCE

A Combination of Theater and Ceremony—the Form of the Performance—the "Scalped Ones" Mime—Swallowing a Deer Head—the Mud Duck—the Parade through the Village—the Round of Ceremonial Activities—the Sleight-of-Hand Performances

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IT MUST BE REMEMBERED that the doctor performance was both ceremony and theater and so regarded by the doctors themselves. The whole organization of the acts, the costuming, and the stage effects were designed to impress and entertain the people while at the same time supporting the confidence of the doctors. While for us in analogous situations, a trilogy or three-act play is considered most satisfying, with a five-act performance secondarily acceptable, for the Pawnees the four-act or fourfold organization is fundamental and based on their cosmic ideology. For more complex organizational forms he would develop four units with a final unit added, an introduction with four basic units less often, or two double-fours, one four following the other with an interim unit between them. During the twenty-day period in which the actual performance would take place, the sequence of acts on subsequent days had a "double-four" character with an interim unit of a different kind, and an introductory unit to the whole series and one in closing. The sequence of the kinds of acts presented might be summarized as A-B A A B—C A C—B A A B-A conceived by the doctors as four B's with at least four-day intervals between each of them filled in either with A's or blank days, with the interim C A C being a special elaboration of the four-day interim theme between the second and third B. The B unit was a large-scale animal mime performed in the late afternoon in the outdoor

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plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kihaxkutsu*, dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsahuruksu*, who were thickly plastered with mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the tribe. Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

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One of the principal actors in this mime was Old Lady Tsitawa, who was the leader of the black-tailed deer cult and the only woman leader in the lodge. She appeared wearing a short black skirt of tanned hide and a tanned hide shawl. Sometimes one and sometimes two of these "Scalped Ones" outdoor performances would be given in the interval between the second and third Big Dance, an indoor performance (A) intervening between the two Scalped Dances, so that at least four days would pass between the two Big Dance episodes.

The night before each indoor performance (A), the doctors who were to perform on the next evening paraded through the village in costume, stopping in as many earth lodges as they could and singing their songs. The general sequence of the sessions was as follows:

A. Introductory performance indoors, to open the proceedings.
I. B. Outdoor Big Dance the following day in the late afternoon.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
II. B. Outdoor Big Dance, late afternoon (second big dance).
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, *Kitsaburuksu*—outdoors.
A. Indoor performance the next night.
Interval of one day.
C. Dance of the Scalped Ones, outdoors.
III. B. Outdoor Big Dance (third big dance).
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
Interval of one day.
A. Indoor performance next night.
IV. B. Outdoor Big Dance, the fourth and final one.
A. Indoor performance at night, to close. Grand Finale with the Buffalo Clown warriors attacking the Bears and conquering them.

After the women who had gotten their advance fuel supply had gone home, Big Doctor announced to the other doctors, "Good Pipe and I are going to put on a regular performance the day after tomorrow in the evening. Tomorrow evening, we doctors are all going to parade through the village." He also reminded them that any doctors who were going to join the two head doctors in giving a performance would have to make their plans for the parade and for the performance the following evening.

As usual, there would be four acts. Big Doctor planned to demonstrate how he swallowed a deer head whole. Pipe Offering was going to make a mud duck come alive. The third on the program would be Brave Horse, whose son would succeed in locating a horse's tail that would be carried away during the performance by one of the audience and hidden

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in an earth lodge in a place known only to himself. The fourth act was to be by Brave Shield or High Noon, who was a buffalo doctor. He would shoot an arrow into the chest of his young son, Yellow Calf, who would be impersonating a young buffalo.

The Pawnee doctor, wearing nothing but his loin cloth, was apparently a highly successful illusionist, as attested by the number of hard-headed white spectators who were thoroughly mystified. Among them was Major Frank North who early became a clerk in the trade store on the Pawnee reservation and later rose to be the leader of the U.S. Battalion of Pawnee Scouts that were regularly inducted into the U.S. Army. North, having a good grasp of the language and being familiar with the personalities involved, on witnessing the act where "the Bear" rips open the abdomen of a boy and eats part of the liver, could only conclude either that a dummy had been used or that the boy had actually been murdered on the spot. George Bird Brinnell of Yale, who had been among the Pawnee in Nebraska, after their removal visited a medicine man in Oklahoma and he too was at a loss to explain what he had seen in broad daylight. Luther North, young brother of Frank, who was with him on this occasion said that while he was on duty with the Pawnee scouts in Nebraska some of his scouts would practice their illusionist feats while they were out on campaigns with him. "One man hid among the tall grass and appeared as a deer, then the next moment as a man," he reported. Another would simply take up a handful of mud and, rubbing his hands together, produce a live turtle, reconverting it into mud again. North asked him what would happen if he released the turtle and let him go. The man said he would die. North returned to the spot after such an episode and found the dead turtle there. There are also eyewitness accounts of such feats as cutting off a foot during the course of a performance, reattaching it backward and then restoring it to normal.

My informant who had participated in some of these feats from the operational side was by no means mystified. The illusions were carefully planned, with assistants planted in the audience and all the practical details organized with great precision. The methods for convincing the audience that are familiar to us, such as allowing the spectators to examine some of the objects involved, were freely used. Various lighting effects produced by lowering or brightening the fire were also employed. Knowing all this, Evarts continued to believe in the divine intervention in the process, while a friend of similar age, David Gillingham, remained an unbeliever from his boyhood on into later life.

Now on the first evening before their performance, the doctors got ready for their parade through the village, *wi-ti-kihar-rar-itsax-ka-wu*, "now-it-dance-they-through-the-village-among-going." The first contingent comprised the four leading doctors at the west. They made an extensive tour of the village, going into each earth lodge as far as they could

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manage it and stopping east of the fireplace where they stood and sang. 756
Then they went around the fireplace from east, by south, west, north 796
and then out of the lodge and into the next one, where they again sang and walked around the fireplace, continuing until they had visited a considerable number. The next contingent was the Horse Doctors who would perform next evening, led by Brave Horse, making a similar tour, followed by their wives or any other women that wanted to join them in their songs.

Finally the Buffalo Doctors went through led by Leading Buffalo (*Taraha-rakitawiu*, "buffalo-outstanding"). As one of their number [789]
Brave Shield was going to demonstrate how he would shoot an arrow at his son Yellow Calf's chest and leave the boy unharmed. Brave Shield was also in the procession followed by Yellow Calf's grandmother Grieves-the-Enemy, who had given his father a gift so that he would teach the boy. All over the village there were abandoned cache pits, and, although the women tried to throw their old sweepings into them in order to fill them up, they never quite succeeded and from time to time someone that was not very familiar with the particular part of the village fell in. On this occasion as Brave Shield's group was going along they came to an old cache pit and the group separated, walking around it. But Grieves-the-Enemy was so preoccupied with her singing that she fell straight in. She yelled as loud as she could, but everyone was singing so loud that no one could hear her. Finally when the next party came passing that way and the men began to walk around the pit, they heard the old lady yelling and got a ladder so that she could climb out. "I was singing for Brave Shield when I fell in and they never heard me," she said. The men asked her, "Are you hurt?" "No, I just hit my knees," she said. "That's good!"

Now those doctors who were not performing the next evening were free to go home. The others remained in the Doctor Lodge all night and the next day, fasting until the following morning after the performance. That night in the ceremonial lodge, each leader talked over their strategy with his assistants. Brave Horse said to his son, "They're going to hide the white horse's tail and I'll tell you where (so that you will be able to find it when the time comes during the performance). It will be in the house of Leading Chief, right in his bed, where his wife sleeps—the bed over which his small bundle, *tsatki*, hangs. During the performance at the appointed time, you go in there and whistle around and put your hand right there and get it." In this manner, Brave Horse briefed his young son. The plan was that the man in the audience who offered to hide the tail would be in league with them.

The two leading doctors simply talked over the specific feats they would perform without discussing any of the mechanisms involved in their performance. Big Doctor said, "I have a whole deer head with antlers on.

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I'm going to swallow it." Pipe Offering told them that he would bring a mud duck to life in some water.

Yellow Calf was to have four sharp arrows shot at him. When everyone had arranged what they would do and all their paraphernalia was in order, they all went to bed. Some of the doctors who were not performing that next evening decided not to remain at home, but to sleep in the ceremonial lodge anyway.

The next morning they all had corn for breakfast that had been supplied by Big Doctor's wife. At all times, there had to be at least two doctors in each booth, regardless of whether they were going to perform or not. Now they all concentrated into one booth on each side and the serving man placed one large bowl of corn in each while they all sat around and ate from it. One bowl was given to the two errand men which they took aside and ate together. This had all been directed and arranged by Big Doctor. About three in the afternoon, the other doctors began to wander in and each was in turn served a bowl of corn that had been donated for the purpose. Only those who were going to perform that evening did not eat at this time.

Just before dark, all the doctors came out of the ceremonial lodge dressed in their costumes and stood outside and sang and then went in again. After the last group, everyone crowded into the vestibule to watch. In the procession were Brave Shield followed by the boy, Yellow Calf, dressed in a buffalo-calf robe. The side of his body was marked with white feathers where he was going to be shot that evening; his grandmother followed behind singing.

There were four or five bird doctors. One of them was dressed in feathers with a whistle in his mouth. All imitated birds and then went back into the lodge. They circled around and the crowd stood around them at a little distance; some people were on the top of the earth lodge.

On each side of the door, a brave was stationed to keep order and keep the crowd out while the final preparations were being made inside the lodge. As soon as the errand man signaled that things were ready, the people rushed in and packed the entranceway. The boy Otter pushed his way to the front of the crowd and the brave tried to persuade him to go home, saying, "You ought to be home, little boy. Nothing but big men in here." But the boy persisted and was finally allowed to stand next to him.

Finally the braves went inside and sat down, one next to the northeast booth and the other next to the southeast, the little boy following after.

Now the drums began to sound and the two leaders started off. Big Doctor went down past the booths on the north side facing them and Pipe Offering down the south, and after each had retraced his steps they arrived at the west where the two doctors crossed paths—Big Doctor going down the south side and back and Pipe Offering down the north side

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and back, arriving at the west, where they stopped. The drums stopped beating and meanwhile Sitting Hawk and Wonderful Old Bull had risen and all four leaders remained standing at the west.

Big Doctor now moved forward from among the leadership and began his act. He was to swallow a whole deer head with the antlers on. He was assisted by his son, He-Kills-a-Person (*Tsahiks-ti-ki*, "person-he-kills"), who now handed his father the head. With Big Doctor in the lead, his son following and three other doctors behind them, they moved around the fireplace at a half trot by north, east and south and stoppped at the west. Before placing the deer's nose into his mouth as a first step, Big Doctor allowed the spectators to examine the head to show them that it was real. Then he put the deer's nose into his mouth and when the head was about halfway in, the procession again started around the fireplace, by north, east, and south; when they had nearly arrived back at the west, Big Doctor swallowed the entire head—the men behind him motioning with their eagle-wing fans down along the back of his body in order to help him swallow it. After he had swallowed it, he stopped at the west of the fireplace and gave thanks, first by putting his hand on the rim, then on his mouth and then on his abdomen where the deer head should now be contained since he had swallowed it. Then he made a very brief statement to the doctors, declaring, "Now doctors, I am going to keep it (viz., the deer head he had swallowed). That's all." Then he went back to his place.

Next on the program was Pipe Offering, the leading doctor of the south side of the Doctor Lodge. He would convert a mud duck into a real live one and then back again to mud. He had no special assistants as the other three main doctors helped him. He had a duck modeled out of mud and a large wooden bowl of water. All four doctors began to sing and he put the bowl of water west of the fireplace. The errand man was told to make the fire bright. Then Pipe Offering stood at the west and he raised his mud duck, and as he brought his hands down, all four doctors were singing. Just as the mud duck touched the water, it said, "Quack, quack, quack," and ran all around. Now the three other doctors raised their voices and sang as loud as they could, and when Pipe Offering picked the duck up from the water, it was a mud duck again.

The other doctors removed the bowl of water while Pipe Offering addressed the assembled company. He said: "Now spectators and doctors, now you have seen me." From among the spectators, Roaming Leader walked up to Pipe Offering and, taking his new blanket from his own shoulders, placed it on Pipe Offering in gratitude for his performance. As he received the blanket, Pipe Offering said to Roaming Leader, "You will have good luck wherever you go. This is what I depend on and also on my Mother Earth." Now Roaming Leader rejoined the crowd of spectators and Pipe Offering said, "You spectators and doctors have

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witnessed what I have done. It was with great difficulty that I performed this feat." Then he went back to his place at the west and rejoined the other three doctors there.

The third act of the evening was that of Brave Horse, whose son would find a horse's tail after it had been hidden by a spectator in one of the earth lodges in the village. As soon as Pipe Offering sat down, whistling was heard. This was Brave Horse's son, blowing on his whistle. Now Brave Horse said to the spectators, "I want one of you to volunteer to take the horse's tail off the boy and hide it in an unknown place. No matter how obscure the place is, as you will see, the boy will find it easily." Leading Horse soon volunteered from among the spectators, but in fact it had all been prearranged—"the volunteer" going straight to the place agreed upon beforehand. Returning to the Doctor Lodge he said, "It's hidden." The boy was sent on his way, blowing his whistle, and his father went around and around in the lodge also blowing his whistle, in order that his boy would succeed. The boy made straight for the lodge of Leading Chief where his father had told him it would be the night before. As he entered, the occupants asked him what he had come for and he said, "My father told me the tail would be in here where the bundle is," thus giving away the whole subterfuge to the people in the lodge. When he got back to the ceremony, his father was still whistling triumphantly for his boy's accomplishment in finding the tail. He addressed the assembled company, saying, "You see what my boy did!" Long afterward the story came out. The boy in his defense said that he could not deceive Leading Chief for he called him by the kin term, brother, *irari*, and it would be unethical not to be truthful with him.

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The fourth and final act for the evening was that of Brave Shield, a buffalo doctor. He was to shoot four arrows at the chest of his son, Yellow Calf, at close range, but the boy would remain uninjured. The four doctors at the west were singing and rattling with their gourds. Brave Shield was holding four arrows. He brought the boy from the booth. On his ribs Yellow Calf had a round disk of soft white feathers where he was to be shot. He was imitating a buffalo calf and he went around the lodge four times, by west, north, east and south, with his father Brave Shield following after him. As they went, Brave Shield shot with his arrows into the ground around the fireplace, once at the north, once at the east, once at the south, and once at the west. On the final round Brave Shield pulled up the arrows one by one, and stopping at the east where the spectators were, gave them the arrows to examine so that they could see what sharp points they had. The arrows passed from one end of the line to the other and were then returned to Brave Shield. Yellow Calf was standing at the south side of the fireplace facing west, with his arms extended so that his ribs were exposed. Brave Shield went to the north side opposite him and with the four doctors at the west rattling

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and singing with all their might, he made a running jump over the fire, landing right in front of Yellow Calf on the south side where he released his arrow. The arrow jumped back over the lodge with its head mashed and bent. Now the boy proceeded through the west to the north side, facing eastward with his arms extended, while his father remained on the south. Again Brave Shield jumped over the fire close to the boy and shot his arrow and again it glanced off and flew across the room—the point all bent and broken. The buffalo dancers now instructed the boy to stand at the west facing north, while his father was at the east, and the same performance was repeated. Finally the boy stood at the east with his father at the west—the father jumping over the fireplace and making his final shot. The shooting being over, the father led the boy to the south position and, warming his hands over the fireplace, placed them on the boy's chest where he had been shot, repeating this four times. Then he shook the boy out of his daze a bit and sent him off to the Buffalo Booth. Brave Shield moved around the fireplace by west, north, and then east where the spectators were and showed them all how the heads of the arrows were broken and macerated. On inquiring of my informant how this was done, he said he thought that someone had been planted among the spectators to help change the arrows before they were passed around, or they might have been changed when they glanced off the boy's side and flew all the way across the room, either before they began their journey through the air or when they were picked up.

By this time it was midnight or one o'clock in the morning and the doctors all sang:

Tatix-kusiseri, I am-playing (like a child)
Witi-ratku-tawaki, myself-for-me-to enjoy

Big Doctor made a final announcement to the crowd: "There'll be no performance tomorrow night. After that we'll have one again. Well now that's all!" Everyone left. Late the next afternoon they would have a big dance on the plaza outside the ceremonial lodge.

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THE FIRST BIG DANCE

Procession of Doctors Impersonating Animals—the Bears Fight the Rest of the Animals—Victory Call's Participation—the Doctors' Meal

EVERYONE MADE SURE TO COME home early that evening so that they would be in time to see the show. By five o'clock there was a large crowd gathered around the space in front of the Doctor Lodge, including many little boys and people visiting from the South Bands.

One could hear the drums inside the lodge and then the doctors came out. In the lead were the two errand men, Good Eagle on the right and Big Bear at the left, each one holding a loon (*kuhut*). Right behind them came the four leading doctors, two by two—Big Doctor and Pipe Offering and then Wonderful Old Buffalo Bull and Sitting Hawk. Behind these came the drummers and then the other doctors two by two. As they circled the dance grounds, the two drummers sang, while the men ahead of them kept step to a dance, the two errand men swinging the loons forward.

Now as one looked in the doorway of the ceremonial lodge, one could see a "deer" jumping up inside. Different kinds of deer came out now; a black-tailed deer (played by Brave Bow), a reindeer (played by Fox Scarf), behind him an elk (played by Might-Be-a-Chief, son of That-Chief and trained by him). Each of these deer blew on a different kind of whistle. The next contingent to emerge were the horses led by Brave Horse with his boys following after him. They were running around here and there blowing their whistles when the black horse came. Next there were two wolves, one played by the son of Big Doctor, He-Kills-a-Person, and the other, *Hatuxka*, Won't-Flee-from-the-Enemy, who played the white wolf.

The procession was completed with the two men dressed in bearskins, one of them Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, and the other, Sitting Hawk's

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brother Victory Call, who was Otter's father. The two bears blocked the entrance so that the other animals would not be able to get back in. Finally they moved aside just long enough for the doctors to get in and then closed ranks again. As the doctors went inside, one could see smoke, dust, and ashes coming out of the smokehole of the ceremonial lodge, and one could hear noise inside. This was because the doctors were in there.

Now all the animals tried to get in too, but the bears blocked their way. The deer stood by pretending to be grazing casually, while the bear sat around looking equally casual. When the deer got close, he again had to jump away. The deer, horses, and wolves all wanted to get in but the bear stayed close to the door. The horses blew their whistles to get in, but the bear remained stationary. He tried to catch the colt, but the colt jumped back. Finally the bear looked the other way for a minute and some of the animals managed to run in. The deer got in but the white wolf had a hard time. The bears tried their best to catch him and they both blocked the way, but finally he squeezed in and only the other wolf was left. If the bears managed to catch him, they would rip open his abdomen and eat some of his liver. He huffed and puffed and tried his hardest to get into the lodge. White smoke (viz., clay) came out of his mouth with the effort. This got the bears angry and one could see the bristles of their hair standing up on the backs of their necks. Finally the wolf jumped right over the bear and got into the lodge, and this made everyone laugh.

At one of the later Big Dance episodes Sitting Hawk had instructed "the two bears" to try their best to catch a deer, a horse, or a wolf. Misery had all his implements ready inside his bear robe. Misery sat at the north side of the entranceway to the lodge looking toward the inside, and Victory Call at the south side somewhat away from the door looking around outside. The animals circled around the dance grounds four times, then tried to get back into the lodge but were prevented by the bears. The horses had buffalo-hair ropes that they were dragging along the ground. The deer managed to skip in, but the white horse, blowing his whistle, was blocked by Misery, who looked very angry with the hairs on his bear neck bristling. Twice the horse approached and managed to escape, with Misery just missing catching the rope. He began to puff and blow. Everyone was yelling to the horse, "He might catch you yet!" Finally the horse made a quick turn and Misery grabbed him too. Everyone on the housetops yelled, "There old man, I told you they'd get you." Both bears laid him down on his back and held him with his arms and legs spread out. Then Misery stuck in his bear claw and made a slit downward, laying open the whole stomach. He pulled out a piece of liver and Victory Call came up and got a piece. Everyone was shouting, "Just look at that old man there. Now old man you can never get

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enough to eat to fill you up any more!" (They meant that now that his liver was gone his stomach had lots of room to expand.) After the two bears got through, they jumped on their victim and healed him up. They had medicine in their mouths for this purpose which they rubbed on the victim's stomach to heal him up. When they got off, the people could see that he was all right again. Then they shook him a bit and as he came out of his daze, he got up and thought there was nothing wrong with him. He just blew on his whistle and ran into the lodge. But the people knew better. They said, "He can whistle away all right, but he won't ever be able to get enough to eat to fill himself up now!"

This was the first time that Victory Call had participated in this act and he went over to his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and caressed him in blessing. "This is what I wanted to know," he said. From now on, Victory Call could don his bear suit and go through this performance on his own. In return, he had taught Sitting Hawk how to handle rattlesnakes.

After all the animals had gone into the lodge, the public show was over. Inside the errand men would be busy cooking the meal. All sixty doctors would be there and they would use up three parfleches of meat to feed them all.

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THE DANCE OF THE SCALPED ONES

Impersonate Scalped Warriors Instead of Animals in This Dance—the Song That Is Sung—the Dance Explained

THE DAY AFTER the first Big Dance there was to be an indoor performance in the evening like the first one but with four different acts. The men who were to participate would start to prepare themselves in the morning after they had finished their breakfast, refraining from eating till the next morning. Just before dark they circled about before the lodge and sang as an announcement of what the performance was to be. A granddaughter of one of the performers, meeting him the night before his way home, inquired where his booth was located as she and her mother wanted to have the privilege of watching the performance sitting comfortably inside his booth. That evening before the performance she came to the lodge with corn bread, coffee, and dry meat. The errand man directed her, going past the first, second, and third booths on the north side and entering the fourth. (He made careful note of what food she would bring to see if he wanted to claim a share after the dance.) Now the girl and her mother were seated inside the booth as the crowd packed in to the rest of the lodge. After this performance the doctors would have a free day, then another performance and still another free day and then a second Big Dance outdoors. After this second Big Dance, instead of just the nighttime performances and free intervals, another kind of outdoor performance was introduced—the Dance of the Scalped Ones.

Instead of animals, the actors in the Dance of the Scalped Ones were the spirits of those who had been scalped by the enemy. Everything was done to develop a mood of weirdness. Old Lady Tsitawa, head of the black-tailed deer lodge, wore a short skirt of black tanned hide and a

tanned-hide shawl. The other actors impersonating the *kitsaburuksu*, the scalped ones, were plastered all over with mud, including a thick plastering of mud on their heads and all over their faces. As they approached they looked like a veritable mud bank.

A big crowd had gathered outside the lodge in anticipation of the performance. The two drummers ran out first and putting their drums between their knees, sat facing each other. As they began to beat the drum, a crowd of scalped ones ran out of the Doctor Lodge. The drumming was in all sorts of irregular beats and the little boys were frightened when they first saw the scalped ones approaching. They motioned erratically and jumped every which way in scary ways. The drummers were singing "Scalped-Ones-Speech":

Hiru-ribi here-is
Hiru-ribi here-is, *wakarawi* (speech)
Hiru-ribi, hiru-ribi, wakarawi
Kitsaburuks-pakarawi scalped one-speech
Kitsaburuks-pakarawi

The song was sung to an irregular tune and as soon as the drummers had finished the song, they all ran suddenly into the lodge and just as suddenly out again, the drummers again coming out and sitting facing each other, singing the Scalped-Ones-Speech with the crowd of actors running out after them. This running in and out was repeated four times and on the fourth round the actors all came out dancing backward, making peculiar motions and finally falling down. Even the drummers fell and kicked over their drums (water drums made of a hollow log.) At last they looked up dazed and as soon as they became aware of the people around, they jumped up and ran back into the lodge.

No one would provide a meal for "Scalped-Ones." As everyone knew, "They were the biggest thieves and stole anything they could get a chance to!" They ate in their booths whatever donations of corn had been made. "As for dry meat, they would provide it for themselves if they could steal some."

Between the second and third Outdoor Big Dance, there were one or two of these special outdoor Scalped-Ones dances with a performance in the night indoors intervening. Afterward the third Big Dance was given, and then after that the two nighttime performances with free days intervening.

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his wife and then the doctors might go after him in this way. They would spirit him out onto the dance grounds outside the Doctor Lodge; then he would go home, get his buffalo robe, and return. 756

From these instances it should be clear that the Pawnee preoccupation with illusionism, hypnotism, and suggestion was neither mere theater nor pure ritual. The power of trance induction was regarded as a threat and a means of control. Possibly the hunter found in it a method of communication with the wild animals and control over them. It is very evident that it was considered a way of immobilizing the enemy. Trance induction was called "fighting" or "shooting at the image or shadow," and illusionism by sleight of hand as a milder form of psychological control was called "playing" or "romping" as of children. Our present preoccupation with psychology and psychosomatic problems should point the way to its connection with healing. The cultivation of these psychological states in the Doctor Lodge was obviously something more than pure supernaturalism. 756 787 [626]

The final episode in the Opera was a contest between the Buffaloes and the Bears in which the Buffaloes reduced the Bears psychologically to mere puppies, and in this way the Buffaloes are no longer afraid. 756 796 536

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THE CLOSING EPISODE OF THE DOCTORS' GRAND OPERA

Contest between Bears and Buffalo Clown Warriors—Description of the Ceremony—the Closing Speech by Big Doctor—the Dismantling Begins

THE MONTH-LONG GRAND OPERA of the doctors ended with a closing performance inside the ceremonial lodge after the fourth Big Dance. Its main feature was a contest between the Bears and the attacking Buffalo Clown Warriors, dressed in mock war costume and led by members of the Buffalo Cult, with John Buffalo, Heavy Trophies, and others playing the several parts. They wore war bonnets made of corn husks and carried spears made of sticks decorated with corn husks to represent feathers. Their shields were also of corn husks, and they made a "chief's medal" for their chief Clown out of the round cover of a tin can. Everyone knew that on that evening the Clowns were going to stab the Bear with their sticks and "make a man of him." The young Bears were released from trance by their leader, Angry Horse, who had also "to awaken" himself. This was the final act.

On the last night the crowd surged into the entryway to see the performance. At the southeast near the wall stood a crowd of Clown-warriors wearing their corn-husk war bonnets with their chief standing proudly at the head of them with his spear. On the north side stood the party of the Bears. Angry Horse was the leading figure of the Bear Party. His face was blackened and he wore a wreath of cedars around his head. In his hand he carried a big rock tied to a string. (My informant did not know what he represented, but people said that his blackened face indicated that he knew everything.) Next to the leader were the two Bear Doctors of the second grade—Strikes-the-Enemy, lieutenant to Angry Horse, and Misery, Son of Sitting Hawk. These men had no other costume than a long

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pole in the left hand of each and a cedar branch "fan" in the right. The two junior members of the Bear Lodge, Fox Chief and Man Chief, were to be the direct object of the attack and they remained inside the Bear Booth dressed in their bearskin costumes.

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The show began with the Clowns. John Buffalo addressed the Clown chief who stood there proudly oblivious of anyone or anything that was going on around him:

"Say Chief, I heard that other tribe say the Bear is going to come around. Over there, there's a bluff, and a Bear is coming there." "I know that but they're nothing but raccoons," said the chief. Then another fellow addressed him saying, "The other tribe is excited there because they say the Bears are coming." "Bear—talk about Bear—I could ride right on it any time I want to!" Next one of the Clown-warriors went and sat down next to the witch woman. He told her what was going to happen "over there" and he made everyone laugh. He said to her, "I heard the people over there say the Bear is going to come. Do you believe it? But the chief says he was up there and there is nothing but a raccoon in there—not a Bear. Are you afraid of Bears? Well, I guess if they come, I'm going to get one."

After this byplay with the witch, the Clown-warrior rejoined his group. Now the action moved to the Bears. All the other doctors came out of their booths. The Bear subleaders, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, pushed their long poles into the Bear Booth to tease out the two Bears who are still inside. When they started to come out of their booth, the Wolf (played by He-Kills-a-Person) came around and got between the two Bears so that their way was blocked. They tried to catch him, but he jumped away with a quick motion and this made them all the more furious. In their anger, they came out of the booth, one at a time. First one came backing out and then the other one emerged head forward. All the doctors began to move about to blockade their escape. The Bears were very angry and they blew and puffed and the bristles on their necks rose straight up.

The Clowns way over on the other side said, "I got hold of his foot now!" John Buffalo said, "I'm holding their legs. They're nothing but raccoons!" Another clown chimed in with, "Oh, they're puppies—nothing but puppies!"

The Bears tried to escape and the crowd tried to blockade their way. The Clowns got caught between two groups of them. Then the doctors, Clowns, and everyone ran out of the lodge except one Clown that got stuck between the two Bears. He didn't know where to go so he looked around and saw that the serpent's mouth was big enough to get in. So he crawled in there, breaking all the teeth. Then he stuck out

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his head, looking all around. When the two Bears finally left the lodge, he got out of the serpent's mouth.

Outside the Clown-warriors were all yelling, "They're over here. There're nothing but little bits of puppies." Soon Angry Horse, the chief Bear Doctor, came staggering into the lodge, circling the fireplace as if he were drunk. He was carrying a rock tied to a string, and every now and then he would hit one of the house posts with it as he went around the fireplace. Next his lieutenants, Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, entered singing and holding their long sticks and cedar-branch fans. Next came the four main doctors who went to their place in the west and stood there holding their eagle-wing fans. In front of them at the west of the fireplace facing toward the east, stood Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy, making sweeping and jerky movements with their cedar-branch fans. They were calling in the members of their own Bear Lodge who were still outside, with the assistance of the two main doctors who were standing behind them to reinforce their efforts with their eagle-wing fans.

Now one Bear comes backing in and the other comes in head foremost, one going around the north side of the fireplace, the other around the south side. The doctors, including those at the west, all try to get out of the way of the Bears, while Big Doctor reminds Pipe Offering to fill his pipe to get ready for the smoke offering.

Angry Horse, the Bear leader, was still staggering back and forth around the fireplace carrying a big stone on a string. When the Bear that was approaching from the south arrived at the west, Angry Horse was waiting for him there. The Bear fell down and he jumped over him and smashed him on the forehead with the big rock he was carrying. As soon as the prone Bear had been hit, Big Doctor told Pipe Offering to light up his pipe and offer the mouthpiece to the forehead of the prostrate Bear twice, then once to his chest (windpipe), then to his right palm, his left palm, and one to each of the soles of his feet. The whole procedure was repeated with the Bear that was approaching from the north side and the two Bears lay facing each other at the west. As soon as he fell, Pipe Offering had also "smoked" the second Bear in the same way as he had the first. Angry Horse was signing, "This is the way I do when I get angry!"

As the two Bears lay limp and lifeless at the west, the two main doctors assisted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy carried first one and then the other into the Bear Booth.

During this special act of the leader upon the two junior Bears, the rest of the doctors and spectators had remained outside. Now first the doctors, followed by the spectators and the Clowns in the rear, filed back into the lodge. The Clowns talked about what they did out there. They were saying, "Oh, I got hold of him by the leg and just shook

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him around a little bit." "Oh, I got on him like a horse. He's a good runner." 756 796

By this time the Bear leader, Angry Horse, was all crumpled up and quieted down. Standing at the west of the fireplace facing east, he warmed his rock over the fire and then went to his seat near the Bear Booth at the northeast of the Doctor Lodge. There he removed his whole costume, including the cedar wreath, leaving only his blackened face. Now the two ex-Bears, Man Chief and Fox Chief, also came out of the booth without their Bear costumes. Man Chief went to the north of the fireplace, extending his right hand over the fire, then putting it on top of his head. Then he did the same with his left hand. He went through the same procedure with his abdomen and also his knees as he stood up. At the south of the fireplace, Fox Chief did the same thing. Now both men returned to their Bear Booth, Man Chief directly from his station at the north and Fox Chief from his south station around the west and north. 536

This was the closing act of the whole show, and now Big Doctor made his final address to them all. He said, "Now spectators, young men, women, now you have seen, during these several nights, this, 'our playing.' Young men, tribespeople, now I am through with this playing of. ours." (He included the audience as well as the doctors in his statement, expressed through the grammatical first person, plural inclusive form, *ti-wi-rikuhuritsa-witsat*, "this-now-it us all-complete." He thus acknowledged the help of the spectators in examining the paraphernalia when offered to them to affirm that they were authentic.) "Now that's all." This was the signal for all spectators to leave.

That night the doctors would take the first step toward dismantling the ceremonial appointments of the lodge. Each of the doctors would bundle up the sacred objects he had used in carrying out his performance and wrap them in a skin cover to form a long-shaped bundle. These must be taken to their respective homes that evening. The four doctors at the west would wrap up everything pertaining to the Doctor Lodge in general—the loons and other birds, etc. That night only the four leading doctors would remain in the lodge, sending home their bundles with the errand men. 756 796 346 778

Very early next morning all the doctors would return so that they could remove and dismantle all the special ceremonial figures and structures they had built. Insofar as possible these would be carried intact to the water where they would be deposited in a certain position, approximating their position in the ceremonial lodge. The serpent figure, the witch woman, and the cedar would be carried out as they were and the sticks of the booths used to make them into a booth in the bottom of the creek. While the Bear ceremony was going on, some men had been delegated to find a suitable place for this. 756 796 778 532

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DISMANTLING THE CEREMONIAL DOCTOR LODGE

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Ceremonial Objects Are Dismantled—All Things Carried to Creek—Serpent Placed in Water within Curved Fence—an Additional Hypnotic Contest—a Banquet Given—the Final Details Settled

756 796 778 532 THE FINAL PHASE of the Doctor Lodge was the removal of the figures they had built and the animal booths. All these things had to be deposited at the bottom of Beaver Creek in an appropriate order and fastened in place. It took about a hundred people, including the sixty doctors, to do this work. For the final banquet that they would share, they used six or seven containers of dried buffalo meat and an equal number of buckets of corn.

The night before, while the Bear ceremonial had been going on, a number of men were sent to choose the place in Beaver Creek where they would set up their things.

756 796 778 431 532 During the ceremony and as the figures were being carried out, people offered them gifts. These were placed in the water with the figures. Once, while the performance was going on, a woman made up her mind to give a gift to the serpent on behalf of her son. She took a piece of calico and as she entered the lodge, opened up the cloth and dragged it across the floor, placing it on the inside of the serpent's neck. The errand man came over and took the calico to one of the four doctors at the west. The doctor set the material aside and came directly to where the woman was standing, walking along the outside of the serpent and jumping over it to where the woman was standing. Now he said, "You have a boy. Maybe someday he will grow up to be a big man and everybody will notice him." The woman left and the doctor returned to his seat.

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When the doctors got in that morning, they detached the figures so that they could be carried to the water. The serpent went first. It was simply pegged to the ground and was freed by pulling up the pegs. The men ranged themselves along both sides of the 60-foot length—the head being pointed conveniently southeast toward the exit. The men waited, ready to lift it up when the signal was given. The witch woman was lifted up and set down on a spread of tanned hide so that they could carry her out on it. The turtle that had been modeled on the fireplace, was crumbled up and also placed on a skin spread.

It took a lot of men to carry out the cedar gently, as it was loaded with gifts that had been placed on it when it was first brought into the lodge. The birds and cutouts suspended from the rafters were left there, because they did not belong in the water. After everything else had been detached, the sticks of the animal booths had to be uprooted, and any woman that wanted to help would carry these things out.

Now the process got under way with the four main doctors leading. Most of the men were dressed only in their breechcloths, although some doctors were foolish enough to wear their buffalo robes and to carry their eagle-wing fans despite the strenuous work they had to do. They made two stops along the way to rest—one about halfway toward their destination and then another one further along. The four doctors had gone ahead and were already in the water, building, out of sticks from the doctor booths standing upright in the bed of the creek, a kind of curved fence open at the east. This was the beginning of a whole structure that would enclose all the objects.

As the serpent lay along the shore waiting to be deposited in the water, people came up and made offerings to it. One person who hoped for long life said, "I give you this. I hope to see you this way a year from now." A mother, giving a gift on behalf of her son said, "I hope to see my boy grow up and be a great man." A mother hoped her two daughters would grow up to be married and have many children. Each girl carried a gift of calico to give and the mother said, "You, serpent, are going to rest here under the water. I want my children to grow up and have many children when they get married." Some people thought the serpent should be identified as a whale and some as an alligator. The latter seems the more likely from the word for it, "dry-tongue." The forked tail somewhat interferes with this latter identification. In this instance the mother was thinking of the fecundity of fish who have many eggs which hatch in large numbers.

Now they placed the serpent in the water, its head resting inside the curved fence the doctors had prepared. The head was pointing upstream (westward) the direction in which all the fish swim. The body extended eastward or downstream. Everyone got into the water and pegged the serpent and its various gifts to the bed of the stream. All the gifts of goods—

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calico, shawls, and blankets—were also fastened to the bottom. The whole thing was encased in a wicker frame of willows under the water. The stakes from the doctor booths were stuck all along the sides of the serpent and bent over across it and interlaced at the top.

Now that the objects were all in the water, the people stepped aside to permit the doctors to engage in one more hypnotic contest. One after the other, as they stood by the water, they caused one another to fall in.

Then the whole group of doctors and any others who had given them assistance repaired to the Doctor Lodge for the banquet. The lodge was empty and they could make a big circle sitting close to the outside walls. The groups of doctors were ranged in from the west. Beyond them along the sides were the general public who had helped them. And last of all to the east were the chiefs, two each from the four Skidi villages. Furthest toward the door of the guests, were two old men, That-Chief at the southeast and Good Land at the northeast. Finally there was one errand man stationed at each side of the entrance. As they were assembled there, some of the people expressed regret that the whole thing was over, for they had had such a good time.

It took eight people to prepare and serve the meal including the two regular errand men. Each of these was provided with an assistant to do the cooking and serving. They had to borrow two of the largest brass kettles they could get, and after they got the water they put in the meat and set them to boil, one at the northeast and one at the southeast of the fire. While the meat was cooking, the donated corn was served after the appropriate offerings had been made, then soup and then the meat. Extra large pieces were set aside for the guests of honor and one for "the house"—that is, for Sitting Hawk's wife to whom the lodge belonged.

During the meal the doctors made conversation about the happenings of the morning—about what had occurred at the river, and so forth. Then Big Doctor made his closing speech, addressing them all. He said, "Now young doctors, doctors, and all members of the Doctor Lodge and the animals that we have imitated here, and you chiefs sitting here watching over your people, and Heaven that has taken pity on us so that we could successfully complete our performance, and you head doctors here who have helped carry out our performance, now we have had our feast—now the Doctor Lodge is over."

A number of business details remained to be attended to. The head doctors had to apportion the meat that they had kept for the final arrangements. The owners of the house would have to fill in all the holes and set up the beds and then entertain the members of the families among whom they had been staying while the lodge was in session. They would need a quantity of dried meat for this. What was left would be divided

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among the doctors. The errand men and their assistants received gifts of calico.

The Doctor Lodge was one of the most intensive group ceremonies of the year, extending to all the people. In the three South Bands at this time, each had a similar twenty-day Doctor Ceremony that they referred to as Big-Sleight-of-Hand. Apparently they only lacked the serpent or water monster of the Skidi, which was the special feature of the federation of the Skidi villages.

After the Doctor Lodge, the separate animal cults that had been represented there should each have a three-day ceremony of its own—the general one constituting a mandate for this. The ceremonial calendar was so crowded that it was extremely difficult to find three days when all the members would be free of other ceremonial involvements. The Bear and Buffalo cults were large organizations with thirty to forty members, and there were many overlappings in the personnel.

There was one private cult, however—the Deer Dance—that was entirely outside the association. It had been imported a generation before from the kindred Caddoan-speaking Wichita to the south and adapted to the Pawnee ceremonial pattern. It had no obligation to the Doctor Association and was fast presenting a challenge to it for membership. Its ceremony was held at a time that overlapped the Doctor Lodge, and sometimes members were spirited away from one to the other, causing considerable bitterness between the leaders. The Deer Dance, also known as Whistle Dance from the whistles the dancers blew at frequent intervals, celebrated the maturing of the wild sage and the mescal bean. Rattlesnake power was also part of the cult. The over-all pattern was of a Deer Lodge in the timber In some ways it represented a quite different system of thought from the Doctor Association, and through it new and important developments might have occurred in Pawnee ceremonial thinking. But before this could be realized, its life was ended by the holocaust that overtook the Pawnee people and their culture and their wild animal world as white contact intensified (see p. 3).

Victory Call was the director of this cult and he was largely responsible for its growth and success among the people. On his deathbed he accused his arch rival, Big Doctor, of causing his death through sorcery.

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THE DEER DANCE

The Deer Dance a New Addition to Pawnee Ritual—Kind Warrior Visits the Wichita—He Learns the Deer Dance from Them—the Learning of the Dance Explained—He Returns to the Pawnees and They Learn from Him—the Form of the Dance Undergoes Changes—the Songs They Sing—Differences with Other Animal Lodge Ceremonies—Mythology of Deer Dance—Popularity of Deer Dance

INVESTIGATORS HAVE LONG REALIZED that the Pawnees had a culture that was unusually rich in ceremony and metaphor. It was particularly in the theater arts connected with their ceremonies that their aesthetic culture had its main expression. In the ceremonies, the sustained patterning of the episodes, the costuming, and the underlying ideology and symbolism represented an aesthetic composite of great richness, which was assiduously cultivated and appreciated by the people for its beauty.

The Deer Dance was a comparatively new addition to the Pawnee ceremonial repertoire. For more than a century certainly, and no doubt considerably longer, Pawnee men had gone south on extended visits to the several tribes of their Caddoan-speaking kinsmen. While they were there they commonly participated in the ceremonies as well as in other activities. Some remained there permanently such as the brother of Eagle Chief, Noted-Tent (*Iseru-rikariku*), who became a distinguished Wichita chief. A man of the Kitkehaxki Band, *Tiraritaka'as*, became a chief of the Kitsai. For a rich source of new ideological and aesthetic material the Pawnees were conscious that they must go south to the Wichita, the Wichita probably looking south to the Caddo and the Caddo in turn to Mexico. It is probable that in this manner, passing from group to

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group, Aztec and other Mexican type cultural forms filtered northward to the Pawnees.

Sometime before 1842, while they were living at Old Village (Kitkehax-pakuxtu), Kind Warrior (*Tirarira*) who was still a young man then, used to go visiting the Wichita quite often and on one of these occasions, when his host was going to a Deer Dance he requested that he be taken along. When they arrived at the ceremonial house, he was asked whether he would like to participate and he said he would, as he liked to dance. He was then costumed like the others, painted all over with white clay, a feather worn crosswise at the back of his head, in his right hand a whistle and in his left a bunch of wild sage which had white seeds. A bowl contained white clay with some of the white seeds so that the dancers could paint themselves.

His friend told him to follow him around during the dancing so that the other Wichitas could see him and when the members had gone, the chiefs sitting at the head of the room called over Kind Warrior and asked him whether his friend had told him anything about the dance. When he answered that he had just painted him up, the chiefs said, "When you get home, say to your friend, 'Now my friend, I don't want people just to see me painted up. I want to know what I am painted for.'"

The next evening, when Kind Warrior and his Wichita friend were in the grass house together, he caressed his friend in blessing and said, "I don't want to simply be painted up. I want you to take pity on me and tell me what it means. I will stay with you as long as you want me to. I will take care of your horses, haul water for you, and hunt the buffalo. You don't have to get the buffalo. I'm the one that will get them for you." The Wichita said, "All right my friend. What you want I can tell you." Then Kind Warrior went over to the Wichita's wife and placed his hands upon her in blessing too. "From now on," said the Wichita, "whenever the dance comes, we'll go in together." Kind Warrior stayed two or three years in order to learn. The dance was held almost any time of year and lasted for four days.

The next time the dance was held, the Wichita taught Kind Warrior as he had promised. He said to him, "You must know something more than just the singing. The Wichitas are watching us now. Now I'm going to get up and you get up and follow me around." They were ready to perform their sleight-of-hand feat. Kind Warrior was told to hold the whistle in his left hand and the sage plant in his right. Now they began to encircle the fireplace. At the northwest corner, the Wichita struck the ashes with the sage and the dust arose. Then they went on to the other three semicardinal "corners" in counterclockwise succession (northeast, southeast, southwest) and at the west facing east, burned the ends of the sage in the fire. Then they made another counterclock-

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wise circuit and at the west about a foot from the fireplace, hit the ground with the sage. Kind Warrior did the same and out of each of their sage plants, four beans rolled down. The Wichita now addressed the different "animal stations" where the members were seated and said, "Now you see what I did with my brother. I told him to do whatever I do. And now I'm going to give him what I do so that he can perform it at home." The Wichitas were all glad to see him do this. He continued to address them: "Now if he goes home and you hear that the Pawnees have started to do the Deer Dance, you can all know that I told him to do it. I also told him to listen to how the singing goes and what the singing is about. I told him that the singing was not just done for its own sake but to study how the animals go and what they do. And I told him that some of the songs are about smoking and that smoking is the main thing. And since he was not willing merely to be painted up for the dance, but wanted to learn what it means, I have taught him. And I'll be more than glad if you at the other places will help me with your performance so that he can learn." The Wichitas said, "That's good. We will try to help this man." "Kind Warrior," said his friend, "you ought to be glad that these different people are going to teach you for nothing."

As the doctors went through their performances, one of them would call him over and whisper to him the meaning of his performance. He would turn around and embrace the man, clasping him about the neck and rubbing his hands upon him from the head and down the arms in blessing, for he had taken pity on him and given him what he most wanted. As the dancing continued, another would call him over, and then another, and so he learned many of their different ways. One of the members had a black bean. He said to Kind Warrior, "You see this?" "Yes, I see it." Then the performer went around the fireplace four times and at the four semicardinal "corners," put ashes on the bean at each corner. After he had done this and gone around the fireplace four times, he stopped at the west and threw the bean down and a black spider was seen running around on the ground. "Now," said the Wichita doctor, "when you go home and have a Deer Dance, you can do this." And then Kind Warrior turned around and blessed him and so he learned many ways among the Wichita.

When he got home, it was the fall of the year and the Doctor Dance was just over and they were preparing to leave the village and go on the winter hunt. Some of the men while they were out, had noticed that the wood had been bitten by beaver and they thought this would be a good time to set a few beaver traps and make a little money by selling the skins. Two or three traps would yield a man a good profit. He would mention to a few friends, "Why stay around the village? Why not set out to trap beaver? And those who had guns could chase deer, moose, or elk." Some of their families would want to go along and

Some of their families would want to go along and some old women to collect wild potatoes and the wild beans that were stored by the wood rat. The women could help with hauling wood and cooking and boys could make themselves useful hauling water and tending the horses. Eventually ten to fifteen tipis in two or three bunches would set out in this way, traveling five or six miles a day and staying two or three days in one place. Individual men would join tents with families, going out during the day with their horses and joining the camp at night at the appointed place. Every evening an old man would walk among them announcing the next day's plans. They camped on the north side of the Loup where they could get wood as it might snow at any time. Those who trapped beaver would clean their traps in the evening and set them from the north side of the river, while the deer hunters went either north or south. Whenever anyone caught anything, they would have a big feast all through the camp. Eagle Chief and War Cry who excelled in buffalo hunting did not care for shooting with guns and trapping, but Victory Call, and his older brother, Sitting Hawk, and also Old Bull were good hunters and trappers. They did not believe in exposing their families to enemy attack in this way and so they would come along by themselves. After they had made five or six camps, someone would come from the village and tell them that they would soon be setting out for the winter buffalo hunt and then they would all return and prepare.

It was such an informal hunting and trapping group that Kind Warrior joined when he returned from the Wichita. In his tipi he was singing his Deer Dance songs in Wichita, and when Victory Call, who was feeling lonesome, heard him, he went into the tipi where Kind Warrior was lying on his back and singing as he beat time on his thigh. Kind Warrior got up and welcomed Victory Call and after he said he was attracted by the singing, invited him to lie down and join him. Lying to the left of Kind Warrior he sang along with him and whenever he had nothing to do, he would just go in and sing. Others came in too and sang with them. Back at the village these men would sing together in the lodge and as others heard them, they also came in. These were men who had also been among the Wichita and had learned only individual songs but not the whole ritual. Some had learned polecat teaching, others buzzard, etc., and as they sang together, they taught one another. While Kind Warrior knew the most, he also learned new things from them. When there were about ten members, Kind Warrior could set them out in a formal arrangement (see Figure 43-1). He assigned two to each of the four semicardinal positions, two at the west as *rixkita*, leaders, and one errand man for the north, one for the south. More people came in and filled in the places. They made four rattles of wild squash with green and white wavy stripes to imitate the Wichita version. They also got four bows in accordance with the original version. Kind

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796 177 Warrior had Victory Call's help in all this and the two men liked each other. Victory Call gave Kind Warrior a horse, a beaver when he trapped it and other gifts to show his appreciation for what Kind Warrior had done for him. Kind Warrior told the members that Victory Call was to lead them when he died.

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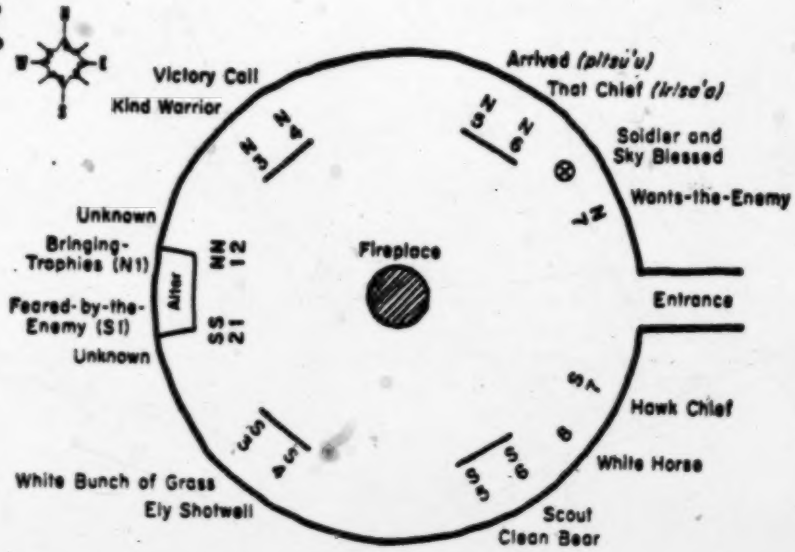

FIGURE 43-1. The first form of the Deer Dance, *Raris-ta*, "dance-deer," a simple gathering of members. The northern half were Pawnees, *Isati;* the southern half, the various southern Caddoan tribes—S_3 Kitsai; S_4 Kitsai; S_5 Tawakaru; S6 Wichita; 8 Kitsai, a bad one; and later Weco, representing the tribes from which the members had learned. The northwest leader on the Pawnee side would say, "The Kitsais, Wichitas, and others are coming on the warpath," signifying one or the other of the south-side people. This was a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

796 The singing was carried out in four sets. There were four men at each of the semicardinal stations. There were four gourd rattles and four bows. These were carried first to the four at the southeast who would rattle and sing a set of songs and then the paraphernalia was passed to the next station at the southwest, then to the northwest and then to the northeast, each group rattling and singing a set of songs. The four successive semicardinal stations represented the course of a man's life—southeast, youth; southwest, maturity; northwest, getting old; and northeast, old man. As the singing proceeded, whichever of the members felt moved, would get up and give a sleight-of-hand performance. Spec-

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tators (*rariwaatuksa*) crowded in, and seeing what they were doing became interested, and began to fill up the membership ranks. Others now went to the southern Caddoan-speaking tribes—the Wichitas, Kitsais, Tawakaru, and Weco—learned their sleight-of-hand tricks, and returned to join the Deer Dance. The ranks thus became full.

In the south half of the lodge, at the west and in the semicardinal positions, each of the men had a tribal name according to where he had acquired his teachings. The north side that represented the Pawnee was called as a whole, *isati* (a noted one, or northerner in the Wichita language). The leader from the Pawnee side at the northwest station would say (mentioning one or the other of the southern Caddoan tribes), "The Kitsais [or the Wichitas, etc.] are coming on the warpath!" This would be a challenge to a shamanistic contest.

The year after the Pawnee moved from Fremont (*Pahaku*) to the reservation near Genoa, Kind Warrior died (1861). Victory Call survived him by seven years and during this time he controlled the Deer Dance and it had many members with performances going full force. Many new features were added to the ceremony, particularly two—the contest between members on the north and those on the south and the addition of two women members, one near the north entrance and one near the south. (See Figure 43-2.) This latter feature came about after someone reported that the Wichita included women, who took part and also gave performances. Then someone dreamed that they had been right in admitting the women and that they should have special duties of taking care of any corn that was donated and sweep the floor of the lodge every morning during the ceremony. Every morning during the ceremonial period, the old ladies would get up very early and tell the boys to get up. Then they gave the room a good sweeping. There were songs that told of this aspect of the ceremonial life in the Deer Lodge.

As Kind Warrior brought the Deer Dance to the Pawnee, most of the songs had Wichita words and reflected Wichita experiences. But in time the Pawnee dancers made new songs that were based on their own experiences and sung in the Pawnee language.

One war experience was of a war party of the Pitahawirata Band to Fort Scott, Kansas, led by Tikarahisat. They stayed on a high tableland for more than a year, hunting the buffalo and making a buffalo robe for their leader. They saw the ducks flying south in winter and then in spring when they flew north again, they flew in triangular formation with their leader at the apex and at the ends of the arms, the two errand men. Children used to ask these ducks, as they flew over the village, to give them moccasins or red bows and arrows. These experiences became the basis for a Pawnee song in the Deer Dance. Another song they sang was about two eagles that they saw, first one with a large log in his claws, then another with another log; they were building a nest. As they built, the eagles would whistle.

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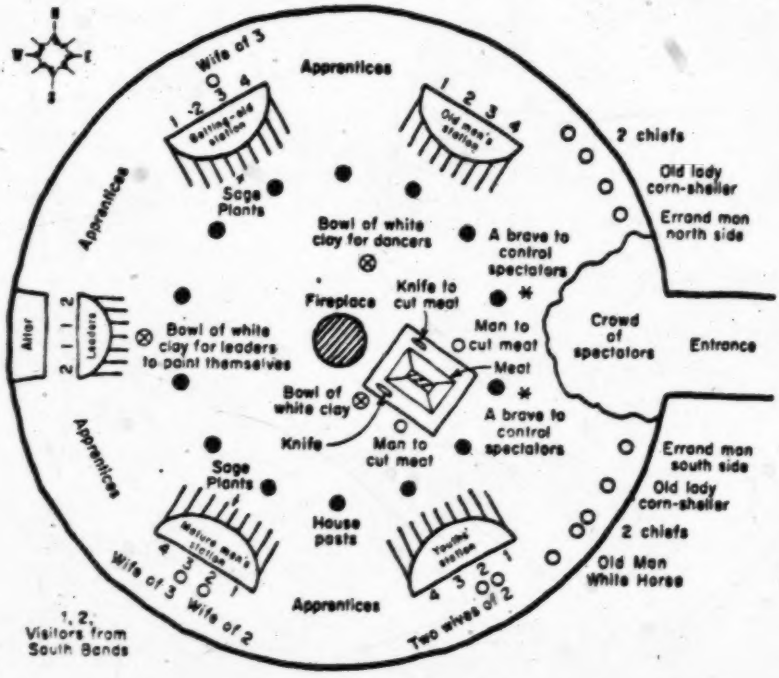

FIGURE 43-2. The developed form of the Deer Dance. It took place in a large ten-post earth lodge. There were sage plants all around to sit on with root ends pointing outward; the thickest bunches were at the stations and the thinner layers between. The circuit of singing is clockwise—southeast, southwest, northwest, northeast, as the circuit of the stars around the North Star. Note the development of specialized personnel.

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Then one of the eagles sat on the eggs while the other flew around. The deer dancers of the several Pawnee bands would invite one another to their dances and in this way, the Skidi acquired some of the songs about the Fort Scott expedition, while Skidi experiences found their way into the repertoire of the other bands. One Skidi song concerned a time when the Comanche came to attack. They could see them coming a long way off, and they came down and hid and stole many horses.

Another song was composed by Warrior. He was an old man who had been highly successful in his war expeditions. Most people wondered why such a man would join the Deer Dance, since one of its major interests was success in war. But Warrior had another purpose. He was particularly interested in learning the sleight-of-hand feat in which a wonderful rabbit could turn into a human being. The story was that

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once when they were moving camp, a rabbit came in and out among the tents, threading his way here and there. However close the people were when they aimed at him, no one could hit him, even when the dogs joined in the chase. So a song was made about this wonderful rabbit who eluded all human pursuers. This was what Warrior wanted to learn.

The author of the original song was an old man, Arrived, who had a place at the northeast station. But instead of approaching him directly, Warrior went to his old friend, That-Chief for his advice as to how to go about it. He was told to come in next day when they had a practice meeting and address his request for membership in the lodge to all the members assembled and particularly to New Young Dog at the northwest. When Warrior entered the ceremonial lodge where the members were assembled for their practice sing, he stood at the east of the fireplace about halfway out to the door and facing west said, "All you Deer dancers, and New Young Dog at the west, I want to learn your Deer Dance. I will give a horse, some blankets, and some meat." New Young Dog, as was the usual practice, tried to deter him. He mentioned that, as Warrior was a successful warrior, everyone would laugh at him smearing himself with clay and participating in their ceremonies when he had no need for further luck either in war or in the hunt. But he remained determined, and finally New Young Dog led him to the old man's place at the northeast station where he took his place.

That evening Warrior went in quest of the rabbit learning that he wanted. New Young Dog had learned it from the original author, Arrived, and it was to him that Warrior went. When he got to the lodge, the people knew the two men wanted to be alone together so they all went to bed. The two men sat and smoked and talked and in the course of their conversation Warrior told New Young Dog about an experience he had had that impressed him deeply. Warrior always wore a white feather and once when the village was under attack as the war party struck, he felt like a feather floating in the wind so that no one could hurt him while he was aloft in the air. New Young Dog advised him that he could make a song about that when they were at the meeting. At the practice meeting, Warrior began slowly and then the next day he sang the song he had composed:

1.	hiwiri	witikuuwis
		Now I feel as if I were flying
2.	"	"
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	his
		feather flying

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1.	hiwiri	Wiwitawia
2.	"	Now it comes flying
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	"
		hita
		feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

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In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," *ɨwi-tatix-tsaaku*, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

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for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*-tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies. The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions. In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840. He states:

> The Mahs (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe.
>
> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight-

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796 789 787 [824] 773 776 [821]

ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting sessions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner. The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

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skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea-

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796 824 825 The wild sage plant continued to be a major feature of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 789 536 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 756 578 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

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As to the public at that time, when the conflict was imminent, some felt a test of power would be welcome between the two organizations, while others felt strongly that it should be avoided.

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How much of the ceremony was basically a Wichita plan and how much Pawnee innovation cannot be entirely resolved, as a number of Wichitas came among the Pawnees and stayed for some time, one of them, Atskiri, remaining for three years and coaching Misery for his role as future leader of the organization. Whatever the details, by 1867, the Deer Dance had become an intricate Pawnee ceremony, following the characteristic pattern with complicated histrionic as well as conceptual features.

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754 578 mouth and chest were covered with blood by the time he got it all out. Mainly old men were present at this particular session of the Deer Dance.

796 578 As can be seen from this account, the "fighting" in the Deer Dance was not mere formal ceremonial procedure but an expression of real hostilities between the performers. As the people watched, they understood all these interpersonal nuances and the effect of the "fighting" was something more to them than a mere show of sleight of hand, spectacular as this might be in itself at times.

75 Apparently despite their rivalry, the two old doctors, That-Chief and Horse Finder, were not above combining in a fee-splitting venture at the expense of a wealthy patient. Horse Finder would advise That-Chief that he intended to bewitch a Mr. A and that in a few days he would be sick. Mr. A got sick as expected and first his family would call in the most eminent physician they had, Big Doctor, for A was an important man. The messenger sent to get him would promise him horses, clothing, and food in payment if he would cure the patient. The doctor came in and, after hearing the symptoms, pronounced it a serious illness and very difficult to treat. He agreed to try it for two days and if there were no results he would have to leave the case to someone else. Possibly he thinks the fee offered is not generous enough. Another doctor is asked to come in, the family offering one horse, a chief's medal, blankets, and leggings. But apparently the fee is too small for this new man who feels he should get more if he is to treat an important man like Mr. A. Finally someone in the family says, "Why only one horse? After all if he dies we won't have anything!" Thus the fee is raised. The second man comes, but gives up in two days. Meanwhile the two schemers have been sitting there and stay all night with the sick man ostensibly as a friendly gesture. When the second man gives up, in desperation, the sick man's family looks about for help and their attention happens to fall on That-Chief who is right there, and they offer him three horses and a quantity of goods. After considerable maneuvers with the coaching of Horse Finder who has been the original witch, he gives the patient an emetic and there emerges one of the terrible poison pellets, the heelskin of a human corpse wrapped in buffalo wool, painted red, and tied around with horsehair. By this time, however, the parts have separated and the human skin has softened so that it has caused a lot of trouble to the victim. When this successful conclusion has been reached, That-Chief calls in four other doctors to sing and celebrate the cure. They all have a feast at midnight and go to their homes. The next night That-Chief sends his grandson, Might-Be-Chief, to call Horse Finder to his home and they discuss the final stages of the treatment, Horse Finder telling That-Chief that he should instruct the patient to have nothing but blue corn meal mush for a few

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mercial metal to appear in this region was the Lower Loup sites of the 1600's where a few small fragments of sheet copper and bits of broken iron objects were found. In the protohistoric Pawnee villages of the 1700's, chipped-stone arrow points were plentiful and even in the 1830's in Old Village, they were fairly common. In the next thirty years they had gone out of use. A very characteristic Pawnee object is the diamond-shaped, bevel-edged knife of chipped flint known in archaeological circles as Haraluey. By 1867 it had been entirely replaced with the metal knife bought from the trader. One of the early names for white people was "Big Knife."

Of the heavier objects of stone, the chipped, grooved stone mauls, axes, and polished celts of the protohistoric and historic archaeological sites had been replaced by the metal ax and hatchet. Two stone objects continued in use—sandstone buffers for smoothing the wooden arrow-shafts and the bowl of the pipe made of pipestone or Catlinite. The sandstone buffers came in pairs and were oval-shaped with a flat surface, each with a matching groove down the length, through which the shaft was pulled. Pipestone was a powdery red or black stone traded from southwest Minnesota where the quarry is located near the present town of Pipestone.

Most of the Pawnee crafts were highly specialized and their knowledge was confined to a limited number of people, who were reluctant to reveal their technical secrets. They were looked upon much as we regard electrical and mechanical skills in our present-day society.

The crafts had a respected place in the ceremonies and were part of ceremonial metaphor. In the ceremony of the Young Corn plant when the Young Mother Corn was being provided with her life, an expert arrowshaft maker was called in to fashion a shaft that would symbolize her body and particularly the windpipe, regarded by the Pawnees as the essence of life itself. When the arrow maker was cutting off the knots from the dogwood stick, they sang of "picking off the words" and when the shaft was drawn through the straightener, the squeaking noise was referred to as "rubbing the female voice." The process of fashioning the pipe stem for the calumet or peace pipe was also couched in poetic terms.

Nevertheless it is rather surprising that there were neither religious taboos nor ceremonial procedures connected with the actual practice of the crafts. Among the Polynesians strict taboos guard the conventional technical procedures against any variations. Among the Pueblos of the Southwest, basket making involves songs and taboos, while among the Plains-dwelling southern Cheyenne, there were organized craft guilds connected with many religious requirements. Sewing beadwork on skins was undertaken as a kind of religious vow—probably going back to older porcupine embroidery. If the work was not completed in the allotted

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spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off. The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin. The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward, and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform. It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill-groomed were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager materials of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were se-

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They had made two killings already and still the buffalo were coming. Eagle Chief stated that the next day they would not go out, but simply keep an eye on the herd as there was so much meat in the camp that they had to give it a chance to dry. He also mentioned that the hides should be treated and thinned down. Some of the old men remarked that this was a good time to make bone grease by boiling the bones and skimming off the fat as there were lots of bones about at this time and the grease would harden easily in the cold weather. Almost all the old women in camp would busy themselves with this work, storing the grease in a paunch. Some would make dried intestines and dried and braided strips of stomach (*pararitskusu*).

They made five killings while they were camped at Many Deer and along with the killing at Turkey Creek, they felt that this was enough and they should turn toward home. They had made killings almost every other day and stayed about fifteen days. Victory Call killed six in all and Horse Rider five.

Now that they were considering turning back, they must decide what donations of buffalo meat were to be pledged for the sacred bundle ceremonies in the spring. Each sacred bundle must have at least one *rarahuru*, a parfleche containing the dried meat of a whole buffalo. The different doctor cults also needed pledges of meat for their spring renewal rites, but they simply needed backbone steaks. For example, the two leaders of the Bear Cult reserved two steaks for their cult. Victory Call set aside one steak for his Deer or Whistle Dance and one for the Bear Cult.

There were twelve major sacred bundles, each of which had to be provided for with a parfleche of dried meat. The Evening Star bundle owned by Old Lady Lucky Leader would be provided for by her son Frank Leader in some years, and by her son-in-law Roaming Leader in others, according to the circumstances of the kill on a particular hunt. Lone Chief and Shot Arm alternated in this way for the Morning Star bundle. War Cry and his younger brother Brave Shield alternated in supplying the meat for War Cry's war bundle (*karaxkata karusu*) that had been derived from the Evening Star bundle, etc.

Everyone was interested in the news of how the donations had gone and Eagle Chief sent out his errand man Know-His-Face to find out at the different tipis where the sacred bundles were kept.

Sometimes a man couldn't manage to get a good buffalo for his bundle. He approached a man who had just killed a fat cow and said, "I want you to take pity on me. I have a sacred bundle and I want to make *rarahuru* [a parfleche of meat]." "Go ahead, take it," said the hunter, and went off, leaving the bundle owner to butcher the sacred buffalo himself. When he got home with the meat he told his wife, "*ra-waruksti-ti*" ("one

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The Pawnee version of the revivalist Ghost Dance religion was in full force. Through it the people hoped that the new would be swept away and old conditions return. It was invested with many of the old and rich Pawnee ceremonial constructs that were vividly recalled in memory and in visions. As one of their fond remembrances, they thought of the old Hand Game, and this became the framework for a new and elaborate ceremonial synthesis of old religious patterns. With the beginning of the twentieth century, the religious elements diminished in importance.

In World War I and again in World War II, the Pawnees for whom defense of country had always been a leitmotif enlisted generously, and their war veterans became an important element of modern Pawnee life. Following World War II and their extensive contacts abroad, a considerable number of Pawnees availed themselves of the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights, acquiring college degrees and specialized professional training.

The Pawnee powwow held in the beginning of July, when the Pawnees used to leave on their summer buffalo hunt, takes place at Pawnee, Oklahoma. It is a colorful combination of traditional and adapted Indian dances and music under the auspices of the Pawnee war veterans. The Pawnees, from wherever their lives have taken them, come by car, train, or plane to this their homecoming, where there is a brief period of camping in tents and cooking over an open fire or a charcoal grill, renewing social contacts and kin reminiscences. The rest of the year's round is in another place and in the present, just as the old people had envisioned their future.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

141 The surround on foot was called *tut-kawi-pitahaku*," it-to-them-inside-moving-round-and-round." In summer the buffalo tended to be scattered in smaller bunches. In winter the buffalo traveled in closer formation. They also would try to drive them over the ice during the winter: *situks-ukita-hai-iwarit*, "they-used-to-upon-water-or-ice-aim-or-direct." In winter, in the deep snow, one could chase the buffalo into a hollow where the snow was deep and some of them got their feet stuck in the snow and could readily be killed. The north wind was called Lucky Wind because it chased the buffalo to them. When the second party was going to Oklahoma (1876), old man Frost, *Huriru'us*, held a doctor dance. Then Lucky Wind began to blow and a lot of buffalo came close to the camp. At one time, east of the Missouri River, a bit east of Omaha, Nebraska, there were villages of Pumpkin-Vine people and further eastward the village of Bones-Sticking-Up, *Kis-karaxwa*, of the Tsawi Band. Buffalo came into these villages.

Even in Oklahoma in the 1920's women continued to pack heavy loads on their backs. In 1928 I met an old Pawnee grandmother of delicate build trudging along the road out of the town of Pawnee one Saturday afternoon with a huge load of groceries—a sack of flour, a lard pail full, and other sundries—done up in a blanket, the ends tied across her forehead and the weight of the bundle resting on her protruded buttocks and backbone. She refused an offer of a lift in a Ford Car, preferring to continue with her moccasined walk for the two miles to the house.

145, 363 In Lower Loup archaeological villages sheet metal was found for the first time (about 1600), possibly for arrow points (Dunlevy, 1936, p. 201).

138 Dunbar, 1918, p. 632, gives an estimate of the number of males and females among the Skidi (1840): total 1906; males over 10 years, 469; females over 10 years, 598; children, males under 10 years, 367, females under 10 years, 472.

145, 363-364 Although pottery was still in use in Old Village (Allis, 1887, p. 140) the Pawnees had for some time been carrying on a trade in brass buckets with other tribes. Mooney, 1898, pp. 257-259, describes a gruesome incident when the Osage attacked the unprotected Kiowa camp, cutting off the heads of their dead victims and placing them one each in a brass kettle, "which had been obtained by the Kiowa from the Pawnee, who procured them on the Missouri and traded them to the southern tribes." This was the year 1833 "Summer They Cut Off Their Heads." During the attack "A party of women was saved by a brave Pawnee living in the camp, who succeeded in fighting off the pursuers long enough to enable the women to reach a place of safety" (p. 258).

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796 756 372 — An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 373 — See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 241 [574] [782] [184] — The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

[752] [726]

824 377 825 171 — On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 280, 290 482 — Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

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727 305 — Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home